ERIC Document Resume	See Instruction Sheet	DATE OF RESUME	DATE RECEIVED

A. PUBLICATION DATA

1. ERIC NUMBER: ED002161
2. ORIGINATOR CONTROL NO(S).: N.A.
3. IDENTIFICATION NO.: CR-1324

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACE BELOW

4. AUTHOR(S): Kimbrough, Ralph B.

5. TITLE OF DOCUMENT ABSTRACTED: Informal County Leadership Structure and Controls Affecting Educational Policy Decision-Making

6. PUBLICATION TITLE: N.A.

ITOR S): N.A.

Cooperative Research Program, Office of Ed., Dept. of HEW, Washington, D. C.

8. PLACE OF ORIGIN
ORG. University of
ST. Florida College of
CITY, STATE Education
Gainesville, Florida
TELE. EXT.
INST/LOC CODE

10. VOL.	11. PAGES	12. MO./YR.	13. TOTAL PP.
N.A.	N.A.	1964	211

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TYPE OF REPORT
PROPOSAL ☐
IN-PROGRESS ☐
FINAL ☒
FOLLOW-UP ☐

OTHER ERIC REFERENCES:

ERIC SATELLITE CODE

B. INDEXING DATA

14. SUBJECT AREA

15. TYPE OF ENDEAVOR: Report

16. INDEXING TERMS (6-12)

decision making	civic beliefs	economic climate	
public issues	power structures	political power	informal leadership
political power	social climate	leader participation	

17. ABSTRACT (MAX. 250 WORDS)

Factors of the community power structure which affected decision-making on educational policies in two local districts of Florida, Beach County and River County, are presented. The counties were matched on certain factors of social climate, but differed widely in local financial effort.

It was found that no group made all the decisions in River County, while the ruling economic dominants usually made the decisions in Beach County. In Beach County, businessmen dominated the power structure, while in River County professionals held the most power. Elected officials had higher status in the power structure in River County than in Beach County, and the superintendent of schools in River County was vastly more powerful than his counterpart in Beach County. Interviews and the Florida Scale of Civic Beliefs were the primary data-gathering techniques used.

ERIC No.

18. SOURCE OF ABSTRACT

C. FUNDING DATA

19. SUPPORTING ORGANIZATION

20. DIVISION OR DEPT.

21. CONTRACT NO.

PROJECT NO.

22. TOTAL COST OF PROJECT

23. DURATION OR PROJECT

U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Office of Education

ED002191

INFORMAL COUNTY LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE AND CONTROLS AFFECTING EDUCATIONAL POLICY DECISION-MAKING

COOPERATIVE RESEARCH PROJECT NO. 1324

RALPH B. KIMBROUGH

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

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Ralph B. Kimbrough

College of Education
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

1964

The research reported herein was supported by the Cooperative Research Program of the Office of Education, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

STAFF FOR THE PROJECT

This research report was made possible through the efforts of a number of persons who served as members of the research staff.

Dr. R. L. Johns, Head of the Department of Educational Administration, Supervision, and Field Services, University of Florida, was the associate director of the project.

Dr. Vynce A. Hines, Professor of Education and Coordinator of Research, College of Education, University of Florida, assisted in all phases of the research and is coauthor of the Florida Scale of Civic Beliefs, which was developed in the project. Dr. Hines' description of the development of the Florida Scale of Civic Beliefs is presented in Appendix F of this report.

Dr. Lawrence Smith, Professor of Education, Glassboro State College, Glassboro, New Jersey, was actively engaged in the first year of research and participated in the development of the instruments used in the power studies.

Dr. Douglas Scates, Professor of Education, University of Florida, provided assistance in the research design, development of instruments, and sampling procedures.

Dr. Wilson Guertin, Associate Professor of Education, University of Florida, assisted in computer programming.

The quality of research was substantially augmented by the active participation of graduate assistants. The following persons served as assistants in the development of instruments and field work for the years indicated: Roy Dean Acker (1961-63); William F. Scaggs (1961-62); Ronald Siefred (1961-62); Fredrick L. Wellman (1961-62); Charles R. Dilks (1962-64); Walter J. Melko (1962-63); William Nunn (1962-64); Walter Quick (1963-64); Alexander Haddon (1964). A number of these persons completed doctoral theses which were related to some phase of the total project.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter Page

I The Problem 1

Research Objectives 1

Related Research 2

Procedures 6

The Setting 12

II The Power Structure in Beach County, the Low-Effort District . 19

Reputational Measures of Power 19

Interrelationships among those Leaders Reputed to be Influential 22

Issues and Projects 30

Influence of Leaders in Problems and Issues 39

Organizational Membership Structure 40

Concepts of Decision-Making by Beach County Residents 42

The Power Structure in Beach County 44

Summary 47

III The Power Structure in River County, the High-Effort District . 49

Leaders Reputed to be Influential in River County 49

Interrelationships among Reputed Leaders in River County . . 53

Leader Participation in Projects and Issues 64

Official Involvement of Leaders in Selected Projects in River County 65

Public Issues in River County 67

Power over Organizations 86

Perceptions of Community Power Structure 88

The Power Structure in River County--A Summary 91

Summary 102

Chapter Page

IV Differences in Liberalism and Conservatism between Selected Groups in the Two School Districts 104

The Placement of Leaders on a Liberal-Conservative Continuum 105

The Civic Beliefs of Population Samples 112

Comparison of the Civic Beliefs between Citizens and Results of Data for Testing Hypothesis 5 118

Comparison of Civic Liberalism and Conservatism between Samples from the Power Structure, Public Officials, Teachers, and School Administrators 122

The Relationship of FSCB Scores and Leader Ratings on Issues and Projects 128

V Conclusions 130

Conclusions on the Structure of Power 130

Differences between the Power Systems of Beach County and River County 134

The Beliefs of Leaders, Citizens, Teachers, and School Principals 135

Some Final Observations 143

Appendices 147

Appendix A 148

Appendix B 150

Appendix C 156

Appendix D 162

Appendix E 166

Appendix F 171

Appendix G 186

Bibliography 190

LIST OF TABLES

Table Page

1 Comparative Statistics of the Two Counties Selected for Study . 14

2 Voting Patterns in the Selected Districts 15

3 Relative Influence Attributed Leaders in Beach County 23

4 Joint Memberships of the Beach County Influentials in Selected Formal Organizations 29

5 Power Wielders in Beach County 45

6 Institutional and Interest Sectors Represented in Initial Interviews in River County 50

7 Rank and Index Number of the River County Leaders 52

8 Classification of Leaders According to Reputed Power in Decisions 54

9 The Memberships of the River County Leaders in Selected Formal Organizations 61

10 The Political Interrelationships of the Influential Leaders . . 66

11 Leaders in Selected Organizations 87

12 Power Wielders in River County 98

13 Conservatism-Liberalism Ratings for Each Top Influential . . . 109

14 Description of the Samples Included in the Study of Civic Beliefs 114

15 Scores of Strata Samples on The Florida Scale of Civic Beliefs 117

16 Significance of Differences between the Mean Scores of Beach County Samples 124

17 Significance of Differences between the Mean Scores of River County Samples 126

18 Significance of Differences between the Mean Scores of Beach and River County Groups 127

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Page

1 Unilateral choices of project friends among persons reported to be influential in Beach County 25

2 Choices among influentials of those persons having the "most reasonable opinions" about issues in Beach County 26

3 Mutual choices of close personal friends among the influentials in Beach County 27

4 Mutual selections of friends on county-wide projects in River County 55

5 Mutual selections of influential leaders having the "most reasonable opinions" about county issues in River County . 58

6 Mutual selections of influential leaders who were close friends in River County 60

7 Business ties of the influential leaders in River County . . 63

8 A graphic portrayal of the power structure of River County 96

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

There is much interest in research which contributes to the rapidly developing knowledge of social power. The investigation reported herein was directed at the importance of community power structure in the establishment of educational policy. Specifically, we were concerned with factors of community power structure which affected decision-making on educational policies in two local school districts. The general problem in this project was to discover the social power systems of two local districts which were matched on certain factors of social climate but differed widely in local financial effort.

Research Objectives

Given two local school districts with similar social climate indexes but differing widely in local financial effort for education, the investigators' objectives were: (a) to describe the power structures of the two selected districts; (b) to describe how the top influentials in the power structures of the two districts influenced educational policies; (c) to discover the operational beliefs of the influential leaders in each power structure; (d) to show relationships of consistency in operational belief patterns and the power wielded by individuals; (e) to compare the beliefs of leaders to the people within each school district and between the two districts on a liberal-conservative continuum.

The following hypotheses were stated in the proposal for research:

1. The power to resolve community educational issues (establish basic educational policies) rests with relatively few persons who enjoy positions of great influence in informal power groups of the school districts selected for study.

2. The top influential leaders in the dominant power group in each school district exercise power through lower level leaders who are in position to influence the formal decision-making structure.

3. The top influentials in the school district exercising a low financial effort for education are more conservative than the top influentials in the high effort district.

4. The degree of influence of leaders in the power structure is related to the degree of internal consistency of patterns of operational beliefs held by leaders as determined by: (a) consistancy of verbalized belief with action taken on issues and (b) consistency of action and stated belief from one issue to another.

5. The verbalized beliefs of the top influentials in the power structure on a liberal-conservative continuum are similar to the beliefs verbalized by a majority of residents representative of the school districts studied.

These hypotheses served as guides to the research effort in each local school district. However, during the three years of examining data, it became increasingly clear that attention should be directed toward the difference in power structure between the two selected districts. That is, given two school districts of similar ability but with widely different financial effort indexes, what differences in elements of power structure were found between the two districts?

Related Research

Contemporary approaches to the study of social power were greatly stimulated by Floyd Hunter's publication of Community Power Structure (26), the completion of the Cheatham County Studies, and the Valley City Studies.*

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*The Cheatham County Studies were conducted during 1952-54 by the Central Staff of the Southern States Cooperative Program in Educational Administration. The Valley City Studies were in progress during the same period at the University of Oregon Community Study Project sponsored by the Cooperative Program in Educational Administration in the Northwest.

These studies did much to reveal that the field of political behavior had been subjected to incredible neglect. Studies on the subject of community power structure have since contributed much new knowledge in the area of behavioral politics and policy decision-making.

Hunter's widely read Community Power Structure opened new vistas for research in sociology, political science, and educational administration. Furthermore, his empirical postulation of the monopolistic rule of elites as opposed to the widely accepted pluralism has resulted in vigorous controversy. Are local school districts ruled by an economic elite or through the competition of numerous bargaining, organized interest groups and governmental officials?

Hunter's publication was followed by a number of major studies conducted in many regions of the United States by such authorities as Pellegrin and Coates (43), Agger (2), D'Antonio and associates (16), Schulze (52), Miller (37), Webb (55), Goldhammer (22), and Belknap (8). Most of these writers used the reputational technique employed by Hunter. The studies cited are for illustrative purposes only. Many studies have been completed which are not mentioned at this time. Dahl (13), Banfield (7), and Freeman (19) used the decision analysis technique recommended by Dahl in his noted study of New Haven. Their studies failed to support the monolithic, economic dominant model proposed by Hunter and others. Instead their findings supported a fragmented pluralism.

The discrepancy in findings reported by different researchers resulted in an intensive debate over the method for study. Dahl (12), Polsby (45), Wolfinger (58), and Kaufman (30) have been vocal critics of the reputational technique. The decision analysis technique has also come under some strong criticism by such writers as Price (47), Anton (4), and Janowitz (27). D'Antonio (15), Agger (3), Gourley (23), and Schulze and Blumberg (53) have presented data which tend to support the reputational approach. Some writings exemplified by Rossi (50), Fisher (17), and Bell (9) have attempted to examine the strengths and weaknesses of both the contemporary and past approaches to the study of power.

Presthus (46) recently completed a study in two New York cities in which he compared the results of the decision analysis and reputational techniques. He found considerable overlap in the leadership lists identified by the two approaches and concluded that investigators interested in thoroughness would be well advised to use elements of both techniques. This conclusion appears to be supported by findings in a study by Acker (1) in which he found that two of the leaders with high reputational influence did not actually participate in decisions. As a result of some rather serious second considerations of the monopolistic vs. pluralism controversy, some scholars are of the opinion that the major protagonists may be overly influenced in their interpretations of data by guiding assumptions. In fact, as a group of researchers attending a research seminar recently agreed, continued controversy over whether power is monopolistic or pluralistic is unproductive in that it deals with only one element of a system of power (49). Furthermore, it is increasingly evident that different typologies of power exist rather than one model for all local communities. Form and Miller (18) propose variations in the structure of power for different communities. Kammerer and associates (29) found variations of monopolistic and competitive power structures in selected Florida cities. Kimbrough (32) has suggested the concept of a continuum of power in which variations of monopolistic, competitive, and pluralistic models of power structure may be located.

In his review of research findings concerning the multiple variables influencing administrative behavior, Campbell (10) pointed to the need to research community value patterns, power structure variables, and the effect of both covert and overt behavior upon administrative behavior. Concerning control over educational behavior, he concluded that "Community control is exercised by a handful of influential people who seem, for the most part, to be willingly accorded their positions of influence by their fellow citizens" (10, p. 244).

The relationship between certain social and economic beliefs and the level of financial support of the public economy has been emphasized by Galbraith (20), Johns and Morphet (28), and other scholars. Studies like those conducted by Kimbrough (31) and Levine (33) have demonstrated that this relationship is more real than imaginary. Levine found that the economic conservative was conservative in matters regarding expenditures of public funds. Kimbrough found that power wielders who held individualistic patterns of operational beliefs were conservative toward the financial support of public programs. McClosky (34) has experimented with the development of a scale to measure political conservatism. The project reported herein directs attention at this important element of the power system and its possible effect upon the level of local financial support for education.

Bailey and associates (6), in their review of professional political activities in eight northeastern states, found that "disorder and naivete are the schoolmen's outstanding political characteristic." In the studies conducted by the principal investigator of this proposal, the school administrator's understanding of power politics has ranged from lack of political know-how in several instances to a few instances in which the superintendent was himself an important policy leader in the power structure.

Studies like those by Miller (39) and Hanson (24) demonstrated that knowledge of community power structure was very useful in predicting the successful passage of projects which stimulate much interest in a community. Such prediction studies have served to validate the importance of concepts of community power structure for educational leaders.

Procedures

The general design of this research project consisted of making a comparative study of power structure in two local school districts of 20,000 population or more which had similar social climate indexes but differed widely in local financial effort to support education. The staff emphasized the use of identical procedures and instruments in each local school district in order to compare the elements of power between the selected districts.

Selection of School Districts

Since the county is the local school district in Florida, two Florida county school units were selected for study. The counties were matched on the social climate index developed by Gentry (21). Gentry's study involved the relationship between certain cultural factors and financial effort among all counties in Florida. Of the twenty-five socioeconomic measures selected initially, thirteen could be included in the preliminary investigation. These measures included the areas of health (e.g., infectious and infestious disease rate), education (e.g., median school years completed by persons 25 years of age and over), population composition (e.g., per cent population male), population stability (e.g., per cent population change), population distribution (e.g., per cent population urban), and economic (e.g., personal income per unit of educational load). Gentry, from his investigation, established an index of social climate which had a correlation of .64 with local financial effort. He found that two of the factors would predict as well as the inclusion of all factors; namely, per cent change in population and median school years completed by persons 25 years of age and over. These two factors as a composite were included in his index of social climate.

The index of social climate of the two school districts selected for study in this project varied less than one-fourth of a standard deviation, according to the study by Gentry (21).

The indexes of financial effort for all counties in Florida were computed. Two counties with similar social climate indexes and total population above 20,000 but which differed in local financial effort greater than one and one-half standard deviations were selected for study. The difference between these school districts in fiscal policies was greater than two standard deviations for 1961. The average difference between the districts was greater than one standard deviation for a ten year period preceding the study. River County, the higher effort district, had a financial effort of 20.4 in mills in 1961. Beach County, the lower effort district, had a financial effort of 8.8 mills for the same period. The state average effort in 1961 was 12.87 mills with a standard deviation of 4.39. The number of mills levied was computed on equalized valuations which were approximately 40 per cent of true value.

We now feel that the selection of the two counties was fortunate in that their social climate indexes did not remain static. The social climate indexes of the two districts, when they were selected, were 52.4 for the lower effort district and 54.3 for the higher effort district. A recent recalculation showed that these figures had changed to 49.98 for the low effort county and 55.1 for the high effort county. The difference in social climate was less than one-fourth of one standard deviation when the counties were selected and had changed to about one-half of one standard deviation on the recalculation based on data available four years after Gentry's (21) report. Consequently, this was an analysis of the power structure of two districts, one of which was undergoing important population changes.

Analysis of the Power Structure of the School Districts

The first phase of the study involved an intensive power study in each selected school district. An adaptation of the power attribution technique to include elements of the decision analysis technique was used in the power studies. The persons who conducted the interviews helped in the development and testing of instruments in a pilot study. All interviews were conducted by teams of two persons for purposes of validity in recording data and in interpreting information. The interview teams were coordinated through regular weekly meetings with the research staff. Emphasis was placed upon the use of identical instruments and procedures in each school district for purposes of later comparison of power elements.

The first step was to identify important district-wide issues and persons who were known to be influential in the resolution of these issues. Interview Guide A, Appendix A, was used for this purpose. The interview teams interviewed persons associated with important institutional and interest sectors characteristically important in each district. Typically, the interest sectors and persons selected to represent them included: (a) education--the superintendent of schools; (b) finance--a leading banker; (c) religion--a leading minister; (d) politics--the executive secretaries of the two political parties; (e) agriculture--the county agricultural agent; (f) women's activities--the president of the Garden Club or the president of the League of Women Voters; (g) Negro subgroup--a leading Negro minister or a Negro educator; (h) general government--an elected county official; (i) economics and business--the executive secretary of the Chamber of Commerce and a leading businessman; (j) labor--a well-known union leader. From these initial interviews a pool of leaders' names and a list of issues county-wide in importance were obtained. These interviews were continued with a random sample of persons named less than three times which helped to eliminate from the leadership lists those persons who were not known to be very influential with the issues identified.

At this point, extreme differences in the power structures of the two districts were manifest. For example, only 62 persons were named in Beach County (the low financial effort district) as compared with 149 in River County; only 18 persons received more than one nomination in Beach County as compared with 46 in River County. As will be seen in the chapters to follow, these differences became increasingly important.

From the list of leaders named most frequently in each county and the issues identified, Interview Guide B, Appendix B, was constructed. The interview teams used Interview Guide B to interview all leaders reported to be influential, all members of the board of education, and all members of the County Commission. These interviews lasted from one to three hours. Details about the actual number of persons interviewed are given in the discussion of each district in Chapter II and Chapter III.

To cross-validate the material obtained in the interviews described above, a different team interviewed a number of persons in each district who had not previously been interviewed. The lists of issues and leaders identified in this "spot check" procedure were compared with those obtained by the initial interview team as a means of verifying the earlier procedure.

Interview Guide C, Appendix C, was employed in an examination of the leadership and political activities of selected organizations in each school district. These interviews were conducted with the top officials and selected members of the organizations reported to be most active in civic affairs. This phase of the study required a total of 72 interviews in the two districts. The analysis included six organizations in the low financial effort district and seven organizations in the high effort district.

Alteration of the Issues-Interview Technique

The research staff had originally planned to use the issues-interview technique as employed in a study by Kimbrough (31) to identify the operational beliefs of leaders needed in the examination of hypotheses 3 and 4.* However, the limited number of issues found in Beach County (the low effort district) prevented an effective use of the technique. Therefore, the technique had to be adapted to include an analysis of decisions on projects to which the leaders ascribed special importance. The fourteen top influential leaders in the two counties were included in this analysis. These interviews lasted from two to six hours. Each leader was asked to state: (a) his understanding of each issue or decision; (b) what position and what action he took on each issue or decision; (c) why he felt that this position on each issue or decision was best.

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*The term operational belief is defined as the stated belief of a leader which is adhered to as the basis of his behavior in critical community issues. In this study the operational beliefs of leaders were evaluated on an interdependent-individualistic ("liberal-conservative") continuum.

The analysis of these data is presented in Chapter IV. Statements of beliefs were written based upon each leader's expressed reasons for his action on all issues and decisions in each county. These statements were properly coded, and qualified persons were asked to sort them into five categories: namely, very liberal, liberal, neither conservative nor liberal, conservative, and very conservative. In addition, the actual statements of the leaders were duplicated and submitted to judges for the purposes of characterizing each leader's statement on each issue with regard to the continuum stated above. These results were used in the examination of hypothesis 3.

Because of the lack of issues in one of the school districts and the impossibility of cross-validating behavior in situations of duress, the testing of hypothesis 4 as originally stated was impossible. As a consequence, other phases of the investigation were expanded, especially the use of the Florida Scale of Civic Beliefs, which will now be described.

The Florida Scale of Civic Beliefs

An instrument known as the Florida Scale of Civic Beliefs was developed by the research staff for use in testing hypothesis 5. A copy of this scale appears as Appendix D. Data relative to the development of the scale are presented in Chapter IV. This instrument was used to show relationships between samples both within and between the two counties. Scores to be used for these comparisons were obtained in each county for the following: (a) a representative sample of the population; (b) a stratified random sample of the teachers; (c) all leaders identified as influential (these were further broken into two strata); (d) school principals; and (e) elected county officials who were not named as influential in the power structure.

The Setting

Although the selected school districts were matched according to certain cultural factors known to have significantly high correlations with local financial effort, there were other interesting differences and similarities between the districts. The purpose of this section is to acquaint the reader with the general setting for the study.

Table I shows comparative data for the selected school districts. Some significant differences are noted along with numerous similarities. Among the differences, the comparatively high rate of population increase in River County, the high effort district, is likely to be of greatest interest in this study because this may have been a factor in bringing about a rearrangement in the power structure. Kammerer and associates (29) have found a significant relationship between population growth of a different income and class from the preexistent population majority and change in power arrangements in their study of several Florida cities. Thus the study reported herein may well provide some data relative to population change and its possible effect upon the structure of power and decision-making.

Beach County, the low financial effort district, had a higher per cent of children attending private schools which is probably a reflection of the higher per cent of Roman Catholics in its population. Beach County also had a slightly higher non-white population and a considerably higher native population. Beach County had a higher median income and a larger per cent of persons making $10,000 or more.

Generally speaking, both counties were comparable on a number of characteristics, including educational level. They were of similar tax-paying ability. Both counties had one main urban area. Both counties were primarily dependent upon tourism and agriculture.

Since this was a study of political power, the voting patterns in the two districts were investigated. Table 2 shows the voting patterns in the two districts for a recent ten-year period. The reader will note significant differences between the voting patterns in the two counties. Especially interesting is the actual decline in registered voters in Beach county, the lower financial effort district. By comparing the counties, a higher percentage of the eligible voters were actually registered in River County. Of even greater interest is the great variation in actual voting in Beach County. Note that the Beach County vote in "off year" elections was less than half the vote in gubernatorial and presidential election years. Thus participation in local elections through voting was very low in Beach County.

Although two political parties existed in Beach County, it was, for all practical purposes, a one-party county. River County presented quite a different picture in that it was a two-party county.

School Government

The school government in the selected counties was essentially identical in that it conformed to the general state pattern. Operating school

TABLE I

Comparative Statistics of the Two Counties Selected for Study *

	River County	Beach County
Total population	70,000	30,000
Median income in dollars	3,800	4,140
Per cent income under $3,000	37	35
Per cent income over $10,000	8	10
Per cent population non-white	15	27
Per cent increase in population	98	20
Per cent rural non-farm	36	48
Per cent rural farm	2	3
Per cent native population	32	53
Per cent in private school	4	13
Per cent 14-17 years in school	87	90
Median school years completed (25 years and over)	10	10
Per cent employed in manufacturing	11	10
Per cent employed, white collar	40	41

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*In order to preserve the anonymity of the school districts, the sources of these data are withheld and figures have been rounded off. These data were for 1960.

TABLE 2

Voting Patterns in the Selected Districts*

	1952		1954		1956		1958		1960		1962	
	Number	% Voting	Number	% Voting	Number	% Voting	Number	% Voting	Number	% Voting	Number	% Voting
Registered Voters												
River County	17,600		18,600		24,300		18,500		31,300		32,500	
Beach County	13,500		13,800		12,000		12,800		12,500		12,000	
Official Vote												
River County	13,600	77	8,600	47	17,300	71	12,000	65	25,000	81	22,000	67
Beach County	9,000	67	2,700	20	9,000	75	4,300	33	9,700	78	4,500	38

*In order to protect the anonymity of the school districts, the source of these data is withheld and the figures have been rounded off.

districts in Florida are coterminous with county boundaries. The county school system is governed by the board of public instruction.

The county board of public instruction consists of five members elected to staggered four-year terms on a partisan ballot. The members are elected in the county at large but represent districts. The board of public instruction is fiscally independent and may levy up to 10 mills on all taxable property in the county. An additional 10 mills can be levied subject to approval through a referendum of the freeholders, making a total limitation of 20 mills.

Although some school superintendents in Florida are appointed, the superintendents in the two selected counties were elected in county-wide elections for four-year terms on a partisan ballot. The school superintendent in Florida serves as the chief executive officer of the county school system.

County Government other than Education

County services other than education are governed by a board of county commissioners. This is a five-member board elected for overlapping four-year terms from five districts. The primary function of the board of county commissioners is to establish policies for the operation of the departments and agencies of county government other than education. Elected and appointed officials (e.g., tax assessor, tax collector, sheriff, supervisor of registration, county judge, and administrators of such functions as planning and zoning, hospitals, airports) are fiscally responsible to the commission.

Although it does not have specifically designated power to do so, the local legislative delegation, in practice, exercises considerable influence over local units of government in Florida. With few exceptions it is a customary practice for the legislature to approve local bills supported by the entire delegation representing a geographic area. The salaries of numerous county officials are controlled through this practice. The legislative delegation may exercise important control over any changes in the role and scope of municipal or county activities.

The School Program

Both of the selected districts were of only average wealth among Florida counties. Consequently, even though River County was making a high local effort, it could not compare in all respects with the expenditure level of the richer districts. The important consideration at this point is the difference in program between two average-wealth counties which made wide differences in financial effort.

The difference in local financial effort between the districts was reflected in very noticeable differences in the school program offerings. River County, the higher effort district, provided publicly supported kindergartens, whereas Beach County operated a 1-12 program. Junior college services were available to the residents of both counties. River County operated its own junior college. Beach County contributed to the support of a college located in an adjoining county.

River County offered much more nonsalary instructional services to the children than did Beach County. For example, River County provided at public expense seven times the amount per student for library books as Beach County provided, fifty times the amount per student for audio-visual materials, and four times the amount per student for teaching supplies. River

County was well above the state average in supplying most of these nonsalary instructional services, whereas Beach County was far below the state average. River County provided a more extensive program of exceptional-child education than Beach County.

River County invested over four times the amount of money per student as that invested by Beach County for school plant maintenance. The fact that River County emphasized an effective maintenance program produced observable differences in housekeeping and general school plant repair. The River County school plant facilities were maintained in a neat and attractive appearance, and the county was commended in school plant survey reports by visiting specialists for its maintenance procedures.

These observed differences in program opportunities and services between Beach and River Counties were to be expected. Studies of school systems where such wide differences in effort exist have usually shown that the lower effort districts place much of the available money on salary items, leaving other items of the budget in a state of extreme deprivation. Thus, while the average salary of personnel in River County was only $200 greater than that in Beach County, great differences existed in the programs and services offered.

CHAPTER II

THE POWER STRUCTURE IN BEACH COUNTY, THE LOW-EFFORT DISTRICT

The purpose of this chapter is to present data about the power structure of the low-effort district fictitiously named Beach County. In order to protect the anonymity of the persons of power in the county, pseudonyms are used.

Reputational Measures of Power

Interview Guide A, Appendix A, was used initially in interviewing thirteen representatives of eleven socioeconomic sectors. All interviews in the study, including those using Interview Guide B to be described later, were conducted by teams of two persons. Each person on the team took notes which were later compared. The interest sectors and representatives of the interests participating in this phase of the study were: (a) agriculture--the county agricultural agent; (b) business--the executive secretary of the Chamber of Commerce; (c) education--the superintendent of schools; (d) general politics--the clerk of the circuit court; (e) partisan politics--the executive secretary of the Democratic Party and executive secretary of the Republican Party; (f) law--a well-known lawyer; (g) banking and finance--manager of a savings and loan association; (h) Negro subgroup--a leading Negro minister; (i) labor--chairman of the local railroad workers' union; (j) religion--a leading protestant minister and the administrative head of the local Roman Catholic Church; and (k) women's social activities--the president of the Garden Clubs' Association. These persons were asked to name significant county issues, projects, or problems recently resolved or which had to be decided in the future. They were asked to name those persons who were most influential with the issues or projects identified.

Seven issues and projects of county-wide significance in Beach County were identified by three or more of the informants in these initial interviews. Further analysis indicated that only one of these was an issue involving massive participation of county leaders and groups. Thus lack of significant issues was an important characteristic of Beach County.

Sixty-two people were named as influential on the projects and issues identified by the informants. Of this number only eight persons were named three or more times.

In order to expand the initial interviews, eight persons selected by a random sample of persons named once or twice in the initial interviews were interviewed by the use of Interview Guide A. Thus, the interview process included information from informed residents who were seen as leaders in the process of decision-making in addition to the initial sample from the representatives of the institutional sectors. There was no appreciable difference in the information obtained via the randomly selected panel from that obtained from representatives of interest sectors. An examination of these interviews revealed that the major geographic areas of the county were represented by those interviewed.

Only eighteen persons were named by three or more informants as influential in the problems, projects, or issues identified. One person was named by every informant interviewed as being influential on the issues and projects. Thus, the findings concerning the power structure were different from the findings for River County (the high-effort district) to be reported in Chapter III.

All persons named by two or more informants in all interviews with the use of Interview Guide A were included in the pool of leaders studied through the use of Interview Guide B, Appendix B. Of the eighteen leaders who were named three or more times in the previous interviews, two persons were consistently unavailable for interviews. Interviews were conducted with the leaders named by three or more persons, members of the county commission, members of the board of education, the superintendent of schools, and the Surf City Council. Surf City was the main center of population in the county. Fifty-four interviews, varying in length from one to four hours, were conducted by the use of Interview Guides A and B. Both reputational and decision-behavior data were derived by these interviews. The following reputational measures of influence were computed for the leaders who were interviewed with Interview Guide B:

1. Number of times persons were nominated by those interviewed as leaders influencing issues, problems, or projects of county-wide significance.

2. The column placement in the extent of influence on significant issues, problems, and projects were as follows: "strong county-wide," "some county-wide," "little influence," and "don't know person."

3. Number of times each person was selected by those interviewed for having the "most reasonable" opinions on issues, projects, and problems.

4. The rank order by all persons interviewed of all persons known to exert strong county-wide influence on problems of county-wide significance. (The persons interviewed were asked to rank the leaders of county-wide influence.)

These measures, as shown in Table 3, were used in determining reputed rank among the seventeen most influential leaders. One will note that the two top-ranked leaders (leaders A and B) tend to be in a class by themselves.

Other data collected in the study supported the identification of leaders A, B, C, D, and F as in a special leadership rank. These were the intellectual leaders of the power structure, and they held great power over decisions of county-wide significance. Consequently, they will be referred to as top influentials in this report.

The rankings of leaders by school officials (e.g., superintendent and board of education) were computed separately and compared with the rankings of other persons interviewed. The correlation of .941 between the rankings by the school officials and the rankings of other persons interviewed indicated a strong similarity in the perception of leadership between school officials and other county leaders.

Interrelationships among Those Leaders Reputed to be Influential

The data described above provided only one measure of power with issues, problems, and projects. However, they do furnish some important leads with regard to the location of power in Beach County. The purpose of this section is to present data concerning interrelationships among those suspected of having power connections.

An immediate problem was manifest in the consideration of interrelationships, especially with regard to leaders L and P, who held important positions in the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church. One of these officials, leader L, did not reside in the county. Both of the officials were consistently unavailable for interviews during the months in which the power studies were conducted. Consequently, other officials in the Catholic Church hierarchy were substituted for interview purposes. As the data to

TABLE 3

Relative Influence Attributed Leaders in Beach County

Leader	Rank: Number of Times Nominated	Rank: Column Placement	Rank: Times Selected for Reasonable Opinions	Rank Order	Mean Rank: All Measures
B	2.5	1	3.5	1	2.0
A	1.0	3	3.5	2	2.4
C	2.5	6	1.0	5	3.6
F	5.5	4	2.0	4	3.9
D	4.0	5	7.5	6	5.6
K	10.0	2	15.0	3	7.5
J	8.0	9	5.5	8	7.6
H	8.0	7	7.5	10	8.1
M	14.0	8	5.5	9	9.1
G	8.0	12	12.0	12	11.0
S	14.0	10	9.5	14	11.9
L	14.0	11	16.0	7	12.0
E.	5.5	14	14.0	15	12.1
T	14.0	13	12.0	13	13.0
P	14.0	15	17.0	11	14.2
R	14.0	17	9.5	17	14.4
N	14.0	16	12.0	16	14.5

be presented show, the reputed influence of these men was probably based upon potential rather than actual influence.

Project Friends and Enemies

Each person interviewed was asked: (a) Which of the leaders in the county could you count on most for support if you were interested in putting across a county-wide project? (b) Which of the influentials would be likely to cause you the most trouble in putting across a county-wide project? There were eleven instances of mutual choices and thirty-three unilateral choices of project friends among the seventeen most influential leaders identified in the study. Figure I shows the unilateral choices of the leaders of those persons they could count on most for putting across a county-wide project. Since leaders A, B, C, D, and F had rather high reputational measures of power, they are placed inside the circle in Figure I and in subsequent figures in this section.

There were only two mutual choices of project enemies. These were between Adams (A) and Emerson (E) and Adams and Thomas (T). As we shall see in the analysis of a significant issue, these leaders opposed each other on the only hard fought issue discovered in the study. There were only eleven unilateral choices of project enemies and four of these were directed at the two officials of the Roman Catholic Church (leaders L and P). As will be seen subsequently, the two Catholic Church officials did not become directly involved in political matters. Furthermore, they were, generally speaking, low in interaction ties with most leaders in the power structure. In one case leader E served as a spokesman for the officials of the Catholic Church on the purchase and use of some property in Surf City. This indicated that he had closer ties with leaders L and P than other leaders in the power structure.

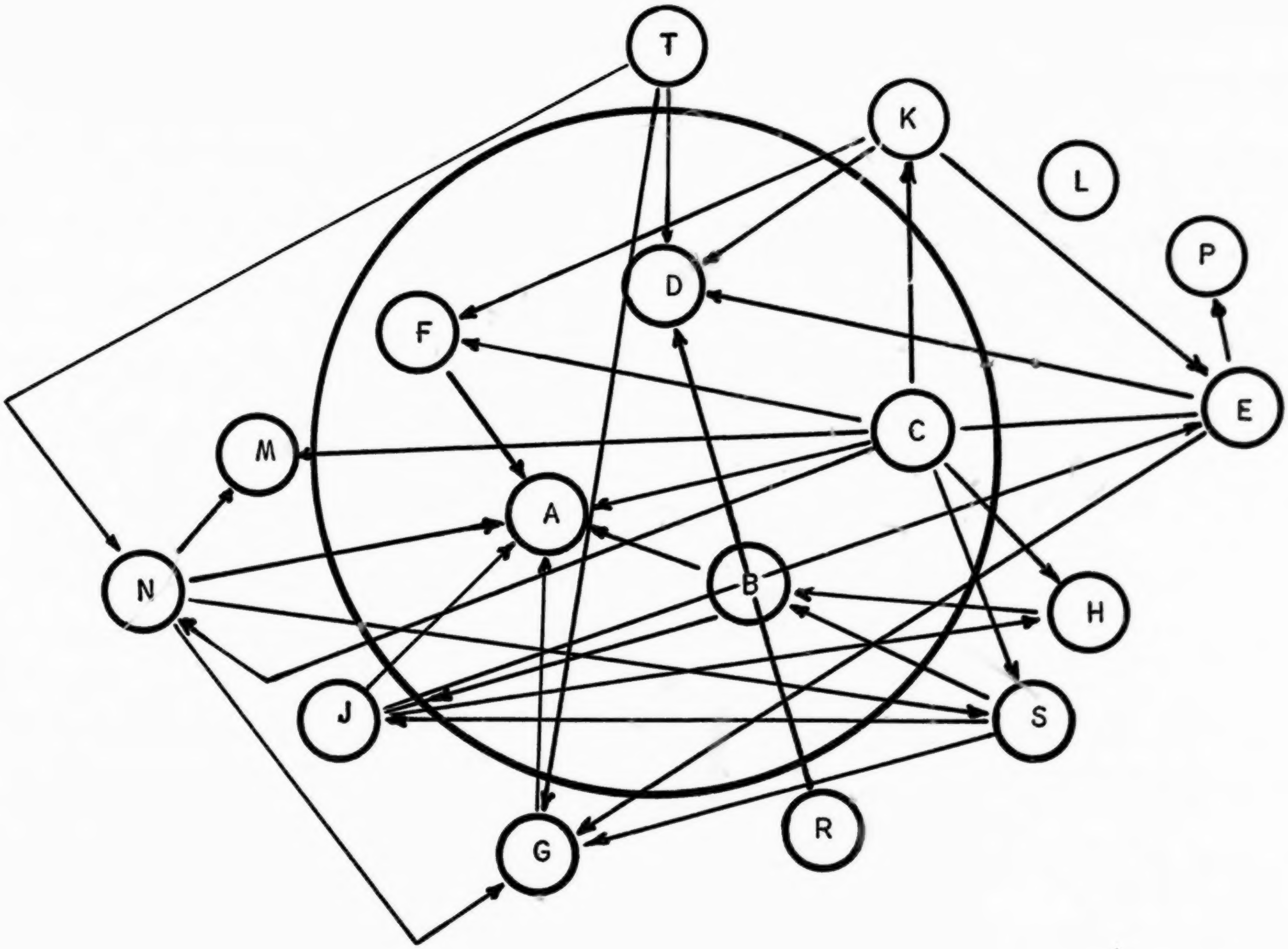
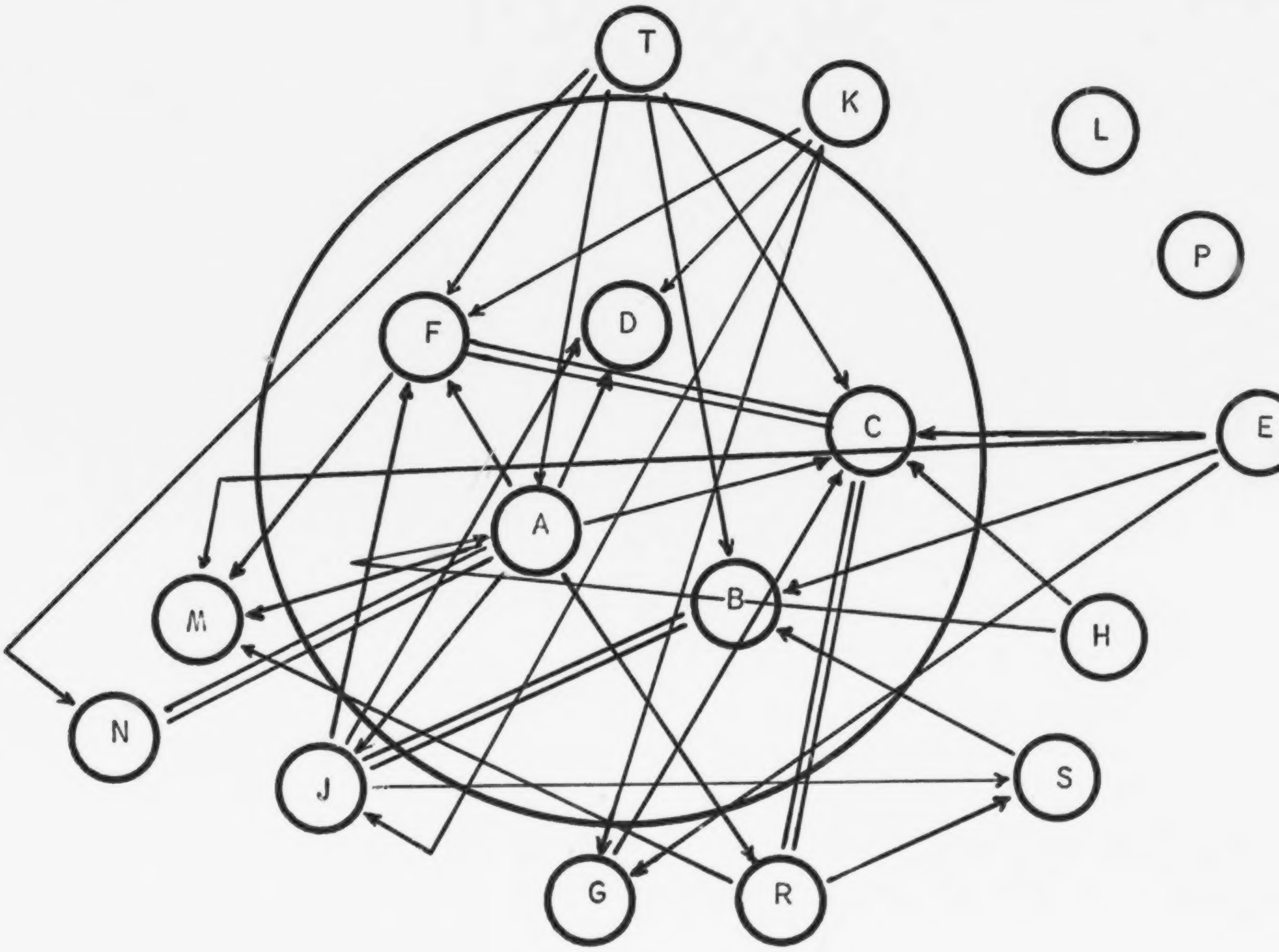


Figure I: Unilateral choices of project friends among persons reported to be influential in Beach County.

Leaders Perceived to have the Most Reasonable Opinions on County Issues

The persons interviewed were asked to identify those leaders who had "the most reasonable opinions" about problems, issues, and projects of county-wide significance. These choices tend to indicate those leaders who hold similar values and seek each other's political advice. The mutual and unilateral choices among the leaders reputed to be influential are shown in Figure 2. Note that leaders L and P, the officials in the Catholic Church hierarchy, were not chosen by anyone as having reasonable opinions on significant county issues, projects, and problems.



Mutual choices indicated by a double line

Figure 2: Choices among influentials of those persons having the "most reasonable opinions" about issues in Beach County.

Close Personal Friends

The influentials made forty-seven mutual and thirty-five unilateral choices of close personal friends. Figure 3 shows the mutual choices of persons other than leaders L and P. Since leaders L and P were not available for interview, no mutual choice of close friends is shown for them in Figure 3. However, if they had been interviewed, it would have made little difference because leader P was not chosen by anyone and leader L was chosen only twice as a close personal friend. The data represented in Figure 3 show that close friendships existed between the top leaders in the power structure.

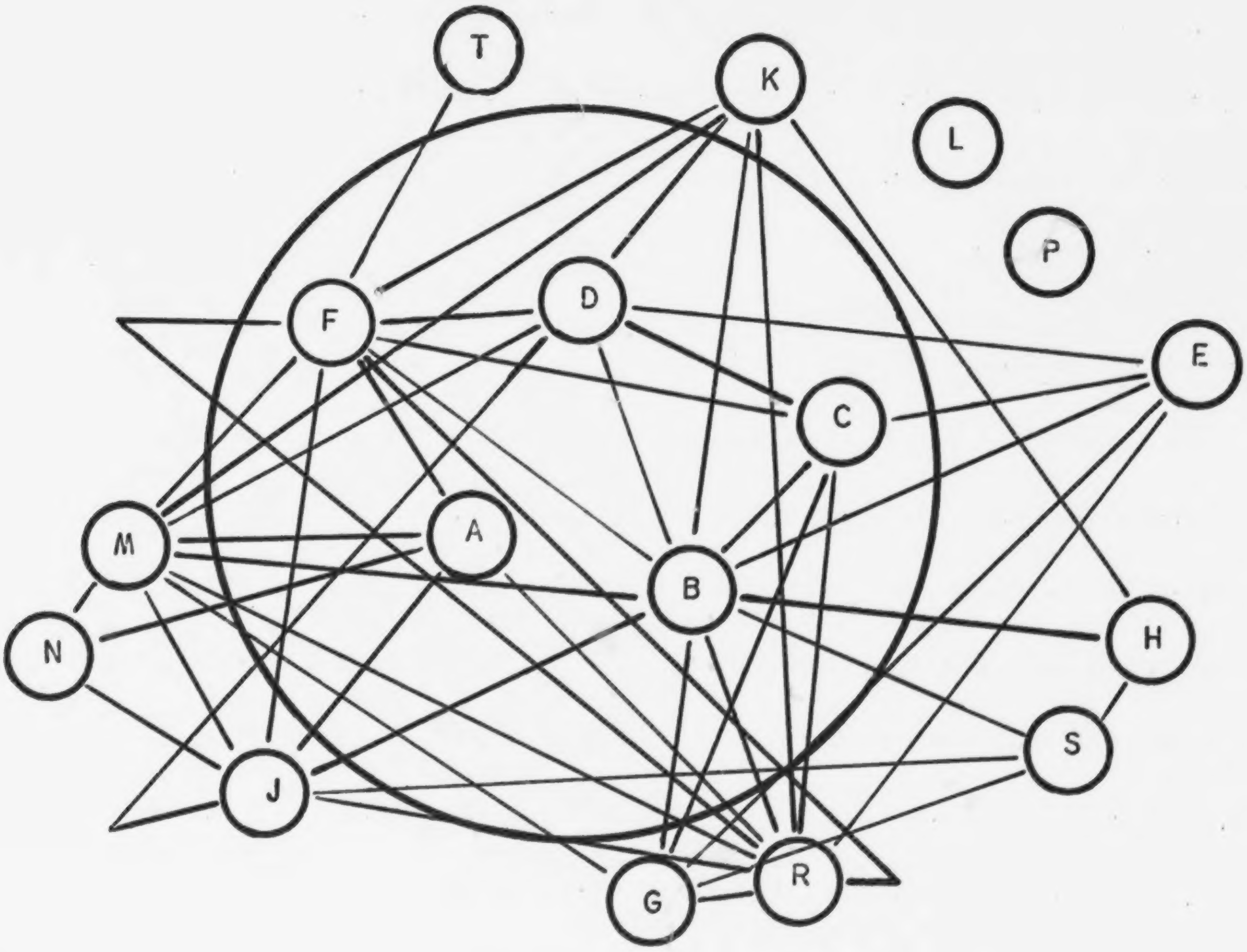


Figure 3: Mutual choices of close personal friends among the influentials in Beach County.

Membership in Organizations

Informants were asked to talk about organization involvement in issues and projects. Furthermore, it was assumed that the pattern of joint membership in organizations would constitute a significant interaction among the leaders. Table 4 shows the memberships in selected civic organizations among the reputed leaders. The beginning letter of the last names of the leaders in the table corresponds with the letters identifying the leaders in the previous figures and in Table 3. For example, the name Gene Foster is the same as leader F in Table 3. Note the tendency for the reportedly most influential leaders to hold membership in these organizations. Also note that neither Joseph Logan nor John Perry (leaders L and P in Table 3) holds membership, which further indicates that they were not closely associated with the influentials. The frequency of interaction made available through these joint memberships in organizations could be one important factor in the power structure.

Other Ties between Influentials

Several important business associations between the reputed influentials were noted. Harold Adams, Vance Butler, and Wade Jackson were on the board of directors of the Surf City Merchants Bank. Wade Jackson also served as legal counsel for Howard Adams. Harold Morgan and Wade Jackson had recently been partners in a business enterprise. Clyde Duncan and William Ross were business partners. Fred Clinton and Lawrence Emerson served as president and vice president respectively in the Surf City State Bank. Some informants expressed the impression that Howard Adams and Fred Clinton, who were important officials in separate banks in Surf City, were

TABLE 4

Joint Memberships of the Beach County Influentials in Selected Formal Organizations

	American Legion	Chamber of Commerce	Country Club	Kiwanis	Masons	PTA	Rotary	Taxpayers Association	Surf City Historical Soc.
Howard Adams		X	X	X	X				X
Vance Butler		X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Gene Foster	X		X		X	X	X	X	
Clyde Duncan		X	X	X					X
Fred Clinton		X	X	X				X	X
Wade Jackson	X	X			X		X		X
Leroy Knox	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	
Harold Morgan	X	X	X	X	X	X			
Edward Hancock						X			
Joseph Logan									
Lawrence Emerson			X				X		X
Homer Grant	X	X							X
Donald Shelby		X							
Roger Thomas		X				X		X	
John Perry									
Harvey Nelson	X	X	X				X		X
William Ross		X	X				X		X

politically competitive. This impression was not supported by the evidence collected. Thus, direct business ties were important among the leaders.

Kinship ties were a minor source of relationship among the influentials. However, there were important kinship ties between certain of the influentials and elected status officials in Beach County.

Issues and Projects

The purpose of this section is to describe leader behavior on significant issues and projects. Information was obtained by two separate approaches. First, a part of Interview Guide B, as described earlier, was devoted to an analysis of leader behavior on significant issues and projects. Those persons interviewed were asked to name persons who initiated the projects and to describe leadership activity on each project. Secondly, those leaders who were named as exerting the most influence on those projects were interviewed and asked to discuss their activity with regard to each project. As already mentioned, only one issue had occurred at the time of the power study in which strong influence was exerted on both sides of a controversy. This issue was over the widening of Park Street. Another controversy developed over a proposed pay raise for teachers but was settled rather quickly.

The Widening of Park Street Issue

An important highway which carried heavy tourist traffic was routed over a narrow street through the heart of Surf City, the major urban area of Beach County. The state road department announced plans for routing the highway to by-pass Surf City in order to facilitate the flow of traffic. Since tourism was important to the economy of Surf City, there was considerable concern about the plans among businessmen. Harold Adams (see leader A in earlier figures and Table 3) announced an alternative plan of widening Park Street in order to facilitate the flow of traffic. His plan involved taking some property of historical value owned by the federal government.

The plan immediately resulted in controversy, producing a tumultuous issue and power struggle in which state and federal officials became involved. Lawrence Emerson (see leader E in previous figures and Table 3) emerged as the leader of a sizable coalition of persons in opposition to the plan proposed by Harold Adams. This power struggle served as a crucial power test of certain leaders because the position of local, state, and federal officials had to be reversed in order to accomplish the plan proposed by Harold Adams and his colleagues. Furthermore, a public poll taken by an organization at the time of the issue showed that the people of Surf City were overwhelmingly opposed to Adams' plan.

Harold Adams initiated the proposal resulting in the issue and became the spokesman for those interested in it. Most of the leaders, already mentioned in the tables and figures presented above, were for the proposal. Leaders S, D, N, and F (see Table 3) joined Adams in strong public support of the proposal. The investigation of the issue showed that leaders C, J, K, T, and R (see Table 3) favored Adams' proposal but were not vocal in their public support of it. Thus, an overwhelming majority of those leaders perceived as influential were for the proposal. These men, who supported the proposal, were the leaders of the "business interests" in Beach County.

The interviews with citizens and influentials brought forth some interesting comments in support of the project. Practically all of the comments indicated that the Historical Society was in opposition. One person commented, "The plan was opposed by the Historical Society--a conservative group which is opposed to progress."

Leaders for Adams' plan concentrated influence upon important officials at the local, state, and national levels. Effective communication was established with the United States Senators and Congressmen for the district. The governor eventually saw wisdom in the project and gave his personal support. The County Commission and Surf City Council also endorsed Adams' plan.

Homer Grant (leader G, Table 3) joined Lawrence Emerson in opposition to the proposal. Vance Butler (leader B) also expressed dissatisfaction with Adams' project. However, the main support for Lawrence Emerson and Homer Grant who spearheaded the opposition was an "average citizen" interest--much of it centering in an historical organization. Women's groups were in opposition to the proposal. As Homer Grant explained the source of his support, "It was mostly a group of women who stood with me on this." Grant must have had reference to lack of power structure support because a poll taken at the time of the issue indicated an overwhelming citizen opinion in opposition to Harold Adams' proposal.

The descriptions of the issue by Harold Adams and Lawrence Emerson, the leaders of the opposing groups on the issue, were almost identical with regard to the leaders' activities and the process used in resolving the conflict. Furthermore, the reports of all other persons interviewed were essentially the same with regard to leadership activity on the issue.

With the exception of Vance Butler, Homer Grant, and Lawrence Emerson, the issue actually stimulated a struggle for power between those men of reputed power vs. much "average citizen" support. The reputed leaders had the greater test in that they had to overcome the community's inertia against change and reverse the opinions of federal and state professional planners.

Harold Adams, a very influential person, proved in this one issue that his power extended far beyond the boundaries of Beach County. Every local policy-making group (e.g., the City Council, Board of County Commissioners) eventually came out in support of his proposal. Elected state officials, including the governor, endorsed the proposal. Elected federal officeholders used their influence to change the plans of appointed officials. The final decision was made exactly as Harold Adams had proposed initially and represented a crushing defeat for those leaders who were in opposition. The professional opinions of state and local officials were reversed in the process.

Acker (I, p. 94), after an investigation of the leadership activity on this project, stated:

> As noted previously, the Park Street widening was the only real issue in Beach County. In this case a formal organization headed by one of the lesser influentials opposed the will of the power structure. This was a case in which the power structure favored a project which was opposed by a large number of the citizens of Beach County.

Acker (I, p. 95), concluded:

> On this issue the power structure gave its approval and the top man in the power structure /Howard Adams/ seized the reins and guided the project to its completion.

Emerson, who was the vice-president of the Surf City State Bank, actually considered his leadership as representative of the Historical

Society of which he was an official. Fred Clinton, who some persons said was in political competition with Adams, supported Adams in the issue.

Property Reassessment

The decision to reassess property was initiated by the Beach County Board of Education in order to avoid a financial crisis. It was increasingly difficult for the board to meet the local commitment to the minimum foundation program even though they had levied the full twenty mills allowed under the constitution. This problem was fairly common among a number of low-effort school systems in Florida because of rapidly increasing assessment values in the state coupled with increased local financial outlays needed to participate in the minimum foundation program. Actually, reassessment was supported in a number of Florida counties by businessmen who were interested in distributing more of the tax burden among freeholders. Because of the $5,000 homestead exemption in force along with very low assessments, many homeowners paid no taxes. Thus the decision in Beach County was supported by the economic community as a means to bring more property onto the tax rolls and distribute the tax load among more property owners.

Speaking of the attitudes of power wielders in this issue, Acker (1, p. 97) stated:

> The influentials saw the reassessment of property as a necessary thing and in some respects a desirable thing, as they saw it as a means of increasing the number of taxpayers in the county. Under Florida's Homestead Exemption Law the first $5,000 of assessed valuation of a home in which the owner resides is exempt from ad valorem taxation. The influentials whose homes were evaluated high enough so that they were paying taxes anyway welcomed this program as a means of putting the "freeloaders" on the tax rolls.

The Board of County Commissioners had official authority to authorize the reassessment proposal initiated by the Board of Education. The Board of County Commissioners appointed a citizens' committee with Fred Clinton (leader C, Table 3), one of the top influentials, as the chairman. There was a tacit understanding that when Clinton was convinced of the need for reassessment, the commissioners would support it. Fred Clinton, a banker, personally made an intensive study of all facts in the proposal. He became quite expert in his understanding of the state minimum foundation program for education. His announcement for the committee that reassessment would be desirable met no opposition. All leaders who were reputed to be influential in decisions were in favor of reassessment, and an outside firm was employed to carry it out. Consequently, when no conflict in opinion occurred among the reputed influentials, a real issue similar to that which occurred in the widening of Park Street did not develop.

Leader behavior on this proposal revealed a typical pattern of decision-making in Beach County. Furthermore, it revealed the extent to which officials in Beach County were dominated by the power structure. Mr. Clinton did not hold an elective public office. However, he along with other leaders in the power structure, sanctioned the proposal. The other leaders in the power structure indicated that they would approve it when, and if, Fred Clinton said it was financially sound to do so. Mr. Clinton's so-called committee was nothing more than what Dahl (13) describes as a democratic ceremonial. In the end there was strong interest in reassessment among the business leaders who dominated the decision, and reassessment was subsequently accomplished.

Acker (1, p. 98) gave the following explanation:

> The operational pattern employed by the schools and the county commission on this problem tells much about the role of the power structure in the decision-making process in Beach County. The schools and the county commission recognized that the reassessment would never become a reality if the power structure were opposed to it. Consequently, Fred Clinton, a key influential, was asked to chair a committee to evaluate the situation and make appropriate recommendations. Clinton was provided with the facts which made the reassessment necessary. A school official stated, "We had to convince Mr. Clinton that there were no frills in our school program before he would approve the reassessment." Clinton was not chosen as the chairman of the citizens' advisory committee by chance. His expertness on financial matters and his position of importance in the power structure were factors in his selection. The endorsement of the power structure was needed for this program to be a success.

Decision on Salary Increase for Teachers

Prior to the reassessment described above, an informal agreement was made between the Board of Education and the Board of County Commissioners that the school millage would be held to a certain figure. However, the board had accumulated a deficit of about $100,000 from previous years' operations. The local commitment to the state program was increasing annually. These facts placed the board in the position of possibly exceeding the millage to which the members had informally agreed. Furthermore, since teachers' salaries were very low, the teachers proposed an across-the-board salary increase. This produced active opposition among several of the influentials, because granting the proposed increase would raise the millage above the amount to which the board had informally agreed prior to reassessment. The controversy centered on whether the salary increase for teachers should be allowed.

The action of the Board of Education in this controversy was revealing. A citizens' committee was appointed with Fred Clinton (leader C, Table 3), the businessman banker, appointed as chairman. After some study of the problem, Clinton met with representatives of the teachers in an informal meeting and informed them of his decision to allow a "compromise" increase in salaries. His compromise decision was accepted by the Board of Education.

An observer for the research team gave the following account of the board meeting in which Clinton's recommendations were adopted:

> The meeting of the school board at which the budget was up for final adoption drew an overflow, standing-room-only crowd. The floor was opened for discussion and all present had a chance to be heard. A great number of teachers and PTA members spoke in favor of the raise. A few taxpayers and two county commissioners spoke in opposition to the raise. The county commission charged the school board with breaking faith with the county commission by increasing their budget much more than they had promised they would.
>
> After the discussion had been heard, Mr. Clinton was called upon for his report. He read his report recommending that the pay raise for the teachers be effective for only the second half of the year and the budget be cut accordingly. This was put in the form of a motion, seconded and duly adopted.

Thus the county continued the conservative financial policies advocated by the power structure.

Most of the leaders reputed to be most influential were not overtly involved in this decision. Fred Clinton's expertness was valued and trusted by leaders in the power structure. A few indicated some interest in the problem but did not take an overt part in it. For example, Vance Butler, as he expressed it, "investigated the situation" and decided a salary increase was desirable. Three of the leaders stated they were opposed to the proposal to raise salaries, whereas six leaders indicated agreement with the proposal. Two leaders took no action and stated no position with regard to it.

Other Decisions Investigated

All other significant decisions and problems considered to be county-wide in importance by Beach County residents were investigated. These included a proposal for a centennial celebration, the establishment of public health services, the problem of tourism versus industry, the purchase of a hotel for public offices, the construction of sewage treatment facilities, and a few minor projects. Persons who were involved in these decisions and problems were interviewed.

The centennial celebration produced one interesting development. The commission to conduct the centennial was appointed by an important federal official. Mr. Howard Adams was left off the list of prominent persons making up the commission. An important federal office holder announced that a terrible mix-up had occurred and the first list was cancelled. Subsequently, the new list of members to the commission was announced with Mr. Howard Adams as chairman of the commission. This project had the enthusiastic backing of all leaders in the power structure. However, Mr. Lawrence Emerson stated in an interview that he was personally opposed to Adams as the chairman of the commission.

The establishment of a public health service had been proposed for several years. However, it had been opposed by Howard Adams, largely on the recommendation of his friend, Dr. A. L. Brown. When Dr. Brown retired and lost interest in the proposal, Adams withdrew his opposition and the service was added shortly thereafter.

A conflict of interest between those advocating tourism and those trying to lure industry into the area was evident among persons interviewed in Beach County. Some persons were in favor of emphasizing tourism as the basic economic support. Others expressed some interest in the development of industry. However, this was simply a discussion that occurred among citizens in Beach County. There had been no serious industrial project proposed during the period of the study. In fact, no one of prestige had proposed anything different from existing conditions at the time of the study.

At the time of the interviews there was evidence of growing difficulties with the racial integration of public facilities. Several Negro leaders were quite active in organizing their communities to make demands for equal accommodations. Leaders in the power structure voiced strong segregationist views. In fact, it appeared that any attempts by the Negro groups to force integration would be opposed by leaders in the power structure. The growing unrest among Negroes coupled with the uncompromising attitude of the influentials in the power bloc resulted in some incidents following the time in which interviews were conducted. None of the influential leaders in the power structure was a Negro.

Influence of Leaders in Problems and Issues

The resolutions of three rather significant decisions in Beach County were investigated: namely, the widening of Park Street, property reassessment, and the salary increase for teachers. Harold Adams was the key person in the only one of these decisions which was preceded by a tumultuous conflict. In this issue, the power structure led by Adams had to overcome great odds, including an aroused, indignant public and professional planners in the federal and state governments. Adams was actively opposed by three of the most influential leaders in the county. The proposal was unpopular among the citizenry. All other leaders in the power structure supported Adams in the issue. The influence of the power structure was paramount. This decision on widening Park Street was the only one which resulted in a true issue resolved through a power struggle. However, it was the tremendous prestige, drive, and resources of Howard Adams which moved the decision to conclusion.

One other potential issue, namely, property reassessment, did not materialize. The great prestige of Fred Clinton, who was the key to the decision, appears to have thwarted the development of the issue. All reputed influentials favored reassessment. A controversy developed over the proposal to increase salaries for teachers. Three influentials voiced opposition to the increase in teachers' salaries. Clinton was again instrumental in resolving this issue.

In their discussion of other decisions, the residents in Beach County continually mentioned Adams and Clinton as key leaders. There was evidence that several of the leaders listed in Table 3 were involved as a group in some of the decisions. Furthermore, it was increasingly clear that Adams and Clinton were the prestige leaders among a few men who could move the county toward policy decisions of county-wide significance. This was especially true in the two decisions which so directly involved financial policy in education. There was no evidence of a permanent group to compete with the power bloc of which Adams, Butler, and Clinton were the strongest and most active leaders. In fact, except for the widening of Park Street, close cooperation usually existed between most leaders.

Organizational Membership Structure

A case study involving over thirty separate interviews was made of six organizations mentioned most often in earlier interviews and reported to be important. These organizations included the Beach County Chamber of Commerce, Kiwanis, Historical Society, Parent Teachers' Association, Taxpayers' Association, and the League of Women Voters. A copy of the interview instrument appears as Appendix C.

The results of this investigation revealed that these organizations, for the most part, were dominated by power wielders already mentioned in this discussion. Furthermore, the evidence indicated that this important group of men formed a monopolistic control over the political activities of these organizations. The following frank statement by a leader in the League of Women Voters, edited for anonymity, shows the control exercised by this group of men:

> If we don't do what Vance Butler says, he crosses us off his list. Everybody's hands are tied here. This is just like a typical small New England town where somebody runs it. And then, too, we have apathy here in the organization. Mr. Simms rules with an iron hand. He works under the town's big chief, Fred Clinton. Simms is Clinton's mouthpiece.

Such comments as these pointed toward the domination of organized groups by some leaders. Who were the persons seen as exercising much influence over the organizations studied?

The two men mentioned most often as running the Parent Teachers' Association were Fred Clinton and Byron Symington, the superintendent of schools. Three of the top influential leaders already mentioned were listed among the group of five men who dominated the activity of Kiwanis. The League of Women Voters was dominated by the wives of Vance Butler, William Ross (leader R, Table 3), and the wife of an employee of Fred Clinton's bank. The analysis of the other organizations continued to show the strong influence which Howard Adams, Vance Butler, Fred Clinton, Clyde Duncan, William Ross, and Harold Morgan maintained in running the organizations studied. Several men mentioned, in addition to these, were designated by such appellations as "Howard Adams' mouthpiece" or "Fred Clinton's man." The evidence points toward the great influence which Adams, Butler, and Clinton had in molding organizational participation in community affairs.

Concepts of Decision-Making by Beach County Residents

Informants were asked to talk about any possible groups of leaders, which they had observed, who worked together on the projects, problems, and issues discussed. Information about these groups was obtained by such questions as: Whom do you associate with such groups? How do they work to solve critical problems? Why do these groups have power with projects? Do these groups stick together on a wide range of such critical problems? Persons were also asked whom they would contact if they were interested in putting over a county-wide project.

The information obtained in answer to these questions proved very interesting. The men thought to be the leaders of groups were Howard Adams and Fred Clinton. There was speculation by some persons that Clinton and Adams were in competition politically. However, the analysis of behavior on issues and knowledge of their working together on projects, including elections, dispelled this idea. For example, Clinton supported Adams in the "widening of Park Street" issue even though Emerson, a business associate of Clinton, was opposed to Adams' plan. Both Clinton and Adams stated that they cooperated on projects and denied any competition in politics. For example, Adams asked Clinton to talk to a director in Clinton's bank about running for city commission. The director ran and was elected with the support of Adams and Clinton.

This feeling of political competition probably stemmed from the fact that Clinton and Adams operated competing banks in Surf City. Economic competition was erroneously assumed by some residents to mean political competition. Summarizing his relationships with Adams, Clinton stated: "Adams is a very real influence. He will work for anything he thinks is good. We have differences of opinion but remain good friends."

In important political matters Adams and Clinton were thought to be the men to see. In answer to a question about whomto see in case one wanted to put across a project, the following statement of a county official was typical:

> Depends on the problem. I might contact the formal agency or authority responsible. For the final decision-making I might go to Howard Adams. He is an outstanding political influence.

Adams had wielded influence in Beach County for many years. During this time he had become unpopular among some people. Yet, few men dared to oppose him openly. One very popular politician stated:

> He told me he was for me last time. I hope that he doesn't tell too many people this because it could be a kiss of death. People don't like him because he can get things done that they can't. Where in the hell would we be without him. We wouldn't have one-third of what we have now.

In summary, most of the persons interviewed in Beach County were of the opinion that the decision-making power was very tightly controlled by a few men. Among these men Howard Adams and Fred Clinton were the unquestioned leaders. Vance Butler was also a highly respected leader. Leaders F, D, J, K, E, S, N, and T (see Table 3, page 23) were listed as important leaders associated with Clinton and Adams. Fear existed among some people, especially some public officials. County and city officials were, generally speaking, attributed low influence. Power in Beach County was perceived to be monolithic by many informants.

The Power Structure in Beach County

Both reputational and decision analysis data were collected as a basis for describing the power structure in Beach County. These data have been reviewed with regard to the various topics previously discussed in this chapter. Unfortunately, only a selected portion of the data considered can be reported. A complete report of all data that were obtained about power in Beach County would constitute a sizeable volume. However, the data reported support the contention that the power of decision in Beach County was held by relatively few men. The power structure in the county was monopolistic.

The names of the persons associated with the top positions of power, along with information about them, are presented in Table 5. As indicated repeatedly by different data, Adams and Clinton were the strongest men of power in Beach County. However, other men such as Butler, Foster, and Duncan were also very influential.

The analysis of this monopolistic power structure revealed definite hierarchies of influence. Adams, Clinton, Butler, Foster, and Duncan constituted an elite, decision-making hierarchy within the structure. These men, especially Adams and Clinton, enjoyed tremendous prestige. This group of top influential leaders, along with the cooperation of most of the power wielders as listed in Table 5, dominated educational policy in Beach County. Yet, not a single school official appeared as influential in the power ranking.

TABLE 5

Power Wielders in Beach County

Name	Age	Occupation	Government Position (Elective)	Years Residence in County	Church
Howard Adams	64	Banker, Contractor, Industrialist	None	45	Methodist
Fred Clinton	65	Banker	None	51	Episcopal
Vance Butler	57	Real Estate, Large Land Owner	State Legislator	52	Methodist
Gene Foster	42	Businessman	State Legislator	42	Episcopal
Clyde Duncan	59	Tourist Business	State Legislator	59	Catholic
Wade Jackson	68	Attorney	None	37	Presbyterian
Leroy Knox	54	Sheriff	Sheriff	54	Baptist
Harold Morgan	38	Attorney	Judge	14	Methodist
Edward Hancock	48	Businessman	County Commissioner	48	Baptist
Lawrence Emerson	62	Banker	None	62	Catholic
Homer Grant	62	Retired	None	62	Presbyterian
Donald Shelby	56	Motel Business	County Commissioner	56	Catholic
Roger Thomas	51	Hotel Business	County Commissioner	51	Methodist
Harvey Nelson	65	Dry Cleaning Business	None	28	Baptist
William Ross	57	Tourist Business	None	57	Catholic

The top influential leaders in the structure (Adams, Clinton, Butler, Foster, and Duncan) were in control of important power resources. Adams was a millionaire industrialist, contractor, and banker who had important state-wide business and political connections. It was a well-known fact that he could get things done for the county at the state and even the national level.

Clinton was a well-to-do banker who had achieved great prestige as one of the best financial minds in the county. His advice, even on routine matters, was eagerly sought by school officials as well as by other county officials. Thus, his reputation for expertness along with high status in the economic community gave Clinton great influence over county policy.

Vance Butler was a highly respected legislator with important ties in state circles of influence. Butler was financially well-to-do and operated several business enterprises among which real estate was his principal interest. Butler, along with Foster and Duncan, constituted the legislative delegation for Beach County, and this was a great source of influence.

As explained in Chapter I, there was a long legislative tradition in which the state legislature would approve local bills supported unanimously by the local legislative delegation. Furthermore, the legislative delegation set salaries of most local county officials. For example, Butler, Foster, and Duncan, as the local legislative representatives, could set the salaries and compensation of such officials as tax collector, school board members, sheriff, county commissioners, tax assessor, supervisor of registration, etc. Even the salary of the superintendent of schools could be affected by the actions of these men. They could pass "local bills" affecting county policy. Thus, Butler, Foster, and Duncan held an important lever by which local policies could be influenced. However, these men did not depend upon their official positions as the sole source of influence. They had much influence as leaders in the business sector of Surf City.

The evidence supporting the exercise of power by the above named top influentials was conclusive. The great prestige and power of Adams and Clinton coupled with the control of the legislative delegation by Butler, Foster, and Duncan, who were also influential in the economic sector, gave this top influential group much power. When the other prestige leaders listed in Table 5 went along with these top influentials on projects, as they usually did, agreements were reached on problems before issues could evolve. These leaders wielded much control over educational policy in Beach County.

Summary

Two of the hypotheses in the project were stated as follows:

> 1. The power to resolve community educational issues (establish basic educational policies) rests with relatively few persons who enjoy positions of great influence in informal power groups of the school districts selected for study.
>
> 2. The top influential leaders in the dominant power group in each school district exercise power through lower level leaders who are in position to influence the formal decision-making structure.

The findings in Beach County support these statements. There was an astonishingly small number of power wielders who dominated the decision-making process in the county. This small group sanctioned all proposed changes in educational policies which had occurred during the period investigated. Furthermore, the control over educational policies was informal. That is, the men who exercised power over the changes in educational policies were not school board members or other school officials.

Power over educational policies was largely dominated by an informal power structure in which the acknowledged top leaders did not even hold a public position. Furthermore, there was a hierarchy within this power structure, as suggested in hypothesis 2.

CHAPTER III

THE POWER STRUCTURE IN RIVER COUNTY, THE HIGH-EFFORT DISTRICT

The structure of power for the decision-making process in River County, the high-effort district, will be described in this chapter. The approach and instruments used to identify elements of the power structure were identical to those described for Beach County in Chapter II. Teams of two persons conducted the interviews through the use of Interview Guides A and B, copies of which are shown in Appendices A and B. The results of each interview were reviewed by the two persons in order to validate the information recorded.

More interviews were necessary in River County than in Beach County because of the greater complexity of the power structure in River County. For example, the number of persons nominated in River County by the use of Interview Guide A was twice the number nominated in Beach County. There were numerous issues identified in River County in which strong group competition was involved as compared to very few issues in Beach County. Thus more interviews were necessary in River County in order to assure similar intensity of the leadership structures of both counties.

Leaders Reputed to be Influential in River County

Interviews with Interview Guide A, Appendix A, were conducted along an identical pattern with that described for Beach County in Chapter II.

However, the results of the initial interviews with representatives of various institutional sectors were very different from the Beach County results. Of the ninety-nine persons named as leaders on issues, thirty-four persons were named three or more times. Sixty-five persons were named either once or twice. A random sample of those named less than once or twice was selected for further interviews with the A guide.

Since the number of leaders named in River County was about twice that in Beach County, it was necessary to interview more perons with the A guide in River County. Thirty-four persons were interviewed with Interview Guide A, representing the institutional and interest sectors as shown in Table 6. The number of persons for each interest sector was limited to one

TABLE 6

Institutional and Interest Sectors Represented in Initial Interviews in River County[a]

Sector	No. Informants	Sector	No. Informants
Agriculture	3	Law	3
Banking and Finance	4	Labor	1
Churches	3	Medicine	2
Democratic Party	5	Negro Sub-Group	2
Education	3	Republican Party	5
General Business	8	Retired	1
Government	7	Womens' Organizations	3

[a] Although only thirty-four persons were interviewed, some of them indicated particularly strong ties with two interest sectors. They were recorded as representative of two interests.

or two persons on the initial interviews, but the interests of those included in the random sample were not subject to control. In all interviews 149 persons were named of which 80 were named only once; twenty-three were named twice. The thirty-nine persons named four or more times as influential with significant county issues, projects, or problems were included in a primary list for further study with Interview Guide B, Appendix B. In addition, a supplementary list of those named two or three times was prepared and used as a part of the B guide. During the interview process, three of those on the supplementary list were transferred to the list of reputed influentials.

Forty-eight interviews were conducted by the use of Interview Guide B, including all persons named four or more times, all school board members, all members of the county commission, and three persons who were attributed influence with issues from the supplementary list. The reputational ratings for thirty-eight leaders, as computed in a study by Scaggs (51), are shown for River County in Table 7. These measures of reputed power are the same as given for Beach County in Chapter II. Each leader's index number was computed from the following:

1. Number of times persons were nominated by those interviewed as leaders influencing issues, problems, or projects of county-wide significance.

2. The column placement in extent of influence on significant issues, problems, and projects were as follows: "strong county-wide," "some county-wide," "little influence," and "don't know person."

3. Number of times each person was selected by those interviewed for having the "most reasonable" opinions on issues, projects, and problems.

4. The rank order by all persons interviewed of all persons known to exert strong county-wide influence on county problems of county-wide significance. (The persons interviewed were asked to rank the leaders of county-wide influence.)

✓

TABLE 7

Rank and Index Number of the River County Leaders

Rank	Name	Code Letter	Index Number
1.	Paul Andrews	A	1.7
2.	Malcolm Barnes	B	2.6
3.	Stuart Clark	C	3.1
4.	Larry Dixon	D	5.7
5.	Charles Egan	E	6.1
6.	Herb Finley	F	7.2
7.	Sam Garner	G	8.5
8.	Keith Holmes	H	8.8
9.	Bob Ingram	I	10.1
10.	Bill Jones	J	12.0
11.	Tom King	K	13.5
12.	Bruce Lane	L	14.7
13.	Dan Martin	M	16.2
14.	Ted Nash	N	16.6
15.	Ken Ogden	O	17.1
16.	Harry Parker	P	18.1
17.	George Quigley	Q	18.2
18.	Russell Ryan	R	19.4
19.	Kelvin Smith	S	19.6
20.	Norman Taylor	T	20.4
21.	Hugh Usher	U	21.6
22.	Perry Vogel	V	22.0
23.	Edgar White	W	22.2
24.	Bert Xavier	X	22.8
25.	Homer Yates	Y	23.2
26.	Ted Zuber	Z	23.7
27.	Dick Adams	AA	26.0
28.	Harold Brabson	BB	27.4
29.	Glenn Cochran	CC	27.8
30.	Curtis Dodge	DD	28.2
31.	Matthew Eden	EE	28.9
32.	Dennis Fifer	FF	29.9
33.	Quincy Gage	GG	29.9
34.	Ben Hahn	HH	30.3
35.	Leroy Ivins	II	31.4
36.	Barney Jorjand	JJ	32.9
37.	Victor Kiker	KK	34.4
38.	Stan Leland	LL	36.8
39.	Dwight Mumford	MM	----
40.	Gilbert Nance	NN	----
41.	Mrs. Harriet Brabson	OO	----

The last three leaders on the list in Table 7 were not given index numbers because they were added during the process of interviewing with Interview Guide B. Therefore, any index for those who were subsequently included at different stages would be meaningless in comparison with the index of other leaders who were rated by everyone.

The leaders who by reputation were influential are designated by code letters from "A through "OO" in the tables and figures presented in the next section dealing with interrelationships. These letters refer to the first letter in the last name of the top influentials and influentials as identified in later sections of the chapter. For example, the pseudonym for leader "A," a top influential, was Paul Andrews. Leader "Y" was given the fictitious name of Homer Yates.

Interrelationships among Reputed Leaders in River County

The purpose of this section is to consider various sociometric measures of power and important ties among the leaders attributed much power in River County. The leaders were divided into three classifications for purposes of displaying the various interrelationships in graphic form. Nine of the leaders were classified as top influentials because of their obvious extensive influence. Other ranks of "influentials" and "lower influentials" were designated as shown in Table 8 below. The terms top influentials, influentials, and lower influentials will be used in the discussion of these leaders in the remaining sections of this chapter.

Project Friends and Enemies

Figure 4 shows the mutual choices of the reputed leaders relative to those on the list who they believed could be counted on most for support

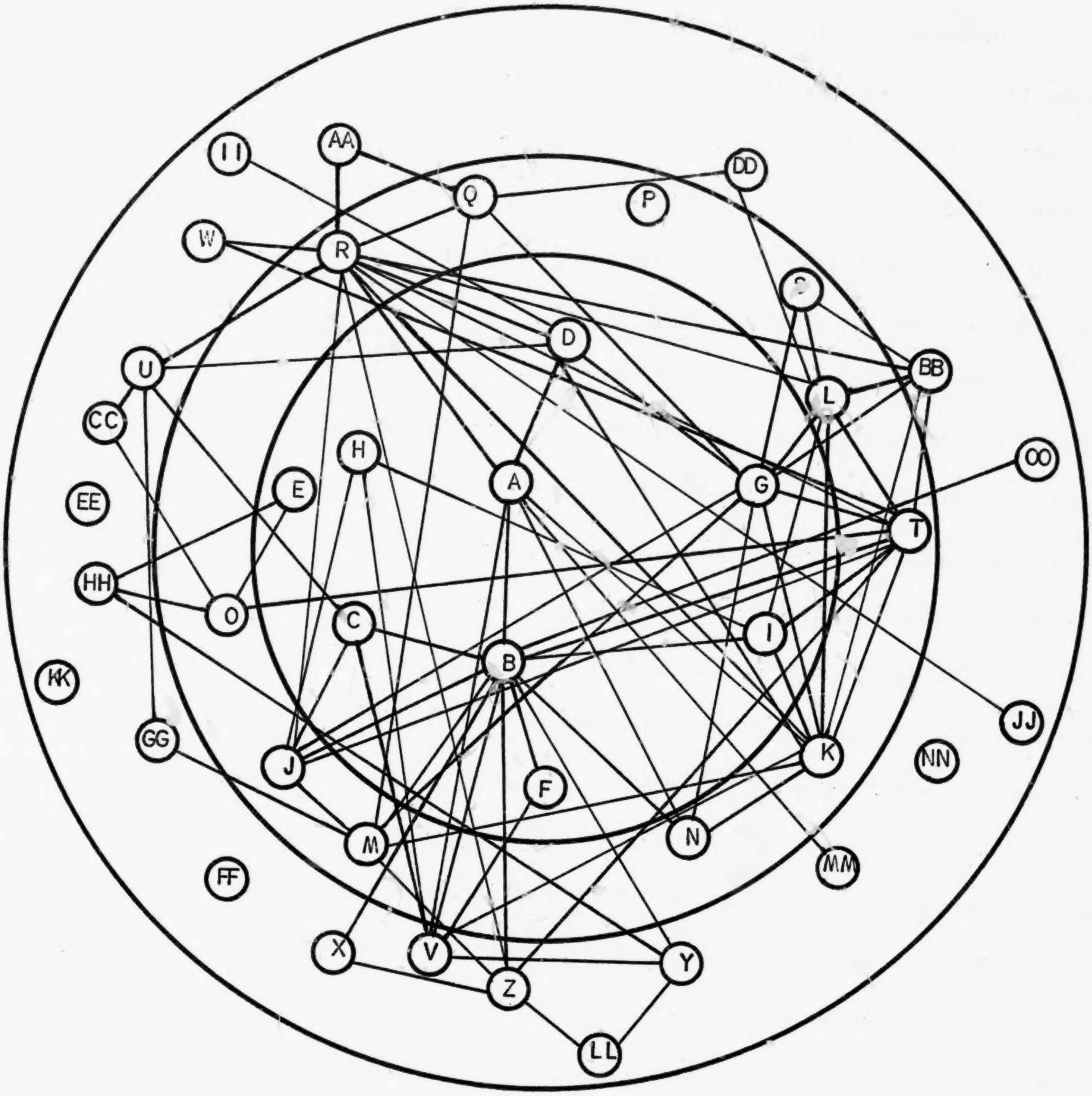
TABLE 8

Classification of Leaders According to Reputed Power in Decisions

Leaders	Extent of Influence	Classification
A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I (See Table 7)	Reputed to have very extensive influence with significant decisions	Top Influentials
J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T	Extensive influence in decisions	Influentials
U through OO	Considerable influence	Lower Influentials

in putting across a county-wide project. The top influentials are placed in the inner ring, influentials in the middle ring, and lower influentials in the outer ring of the sociogram.

Several distinct concentrations of mutual choices appear in Figure 4 which are indicative of somewhat separate group interests. There is a concentration of choices involving the leaders in the lower section of the sociogram (leaders B, C, F, M, J, V, X, Z). Another, somewhat separate concentration involves leaders G, L, S, BB, T, I, and K in the right portion of the sociogram. These will be definitely identified as separate groups as the discussion proceeds. Leaders E, O, and HH to the left in the sociogram were leaders in the Republican Party Group. Leaders R, AA, Q, and K were in one of the splintered groups in the Democratic Party. Thus the sociogram indicates different concentrations of project friends among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V
Y
Z
LL

Figure 4: Mutual selections of friends on county-wide projects in River County

forty-one leaders reputed to be most influential. The fact that leader I (Bob Ingram) was the superintendent of schools might be of special interest to the reader.

However, Figure 4 indicates something in addition to different concentrations. These different friendship groups are not fragmented. There are strong ties between certain individuals represented in the different concentrations of mutual choices. Thus the divergent power groups in River County were tied together by associations between individuals who were seen as influential with different groups in the structure.

The leaders were also asked to select those persons who "would be likely to cause you the most trouble in putting across a county-wide project." There were 114 unilateral choices of project opponents. Only four mutual choices occurred. The mutual choices were, in all instances, between leaders in the Republican and Democratic parties. Leaders in the so-called Old Guard Group (e.g., B, C, F, M, J, V, X, Z) were selected many times as project opponents. Likewise, leaders in the Republican Party faction (e.g., E, O, HH) were often selected as political opponents. Leaders P and Q, who were very influential in a faction within the Democratic Party, were selected several times as political opponents by leaders identified in the Republican Party and leaders in the so-called Crosby Democrats Group. The fact that leaders associated with different groups were often selected as political opponents indicated that the basis for a multigroup power structure existed in River County.

Leaders Perceived to Have Similar Views on Projects

In order to obtain some measure of common philosophy between leaders, each person interviewed was asked to select those persons who held "the most reasonable opinions" on issues, projects, and problems of county-wide significance. The sociogram in Figure 5 shows the mutual selections among the leaders on this item. As in all sociograms in this section, top influentials are placed in the inner ring, influentials in the middle ring, and lower influentials in the outer ring.

Figure 5 shows definite concentrations around leader B, a strong leader of the Old Guard power bloc, and leader G, the leader of the Farmdale power bloc. Considerable concentration also centers around leader K who was an important leader among a group of conservative men identified in this report as the Brady Democrats. Leader A was an important member of the so-called Crosby Democrats, a clique associated closely with the Old Guard. Mutual selections are evident among leaders CC, U, EE, HH, E, C, and W who were leaders in the Republican Party and New Emergent power groups.

Although the interactions in the sociogram tend to concentrate around the acknowledged leaders of three power factions (leaders B, G, and K), there are important ties between persons associated in different power cliques. These ties between leaders in different cliques show that, although there are competing groups in the power structure in River County, there are also important channels of cooperation between the groups. This is consistent with data which will be presented with regard to leader behavior on projects and issues.

Close Friendships among Influentials in River County

Informants were asked to indicate the leaders on the list who were their "close friends." A close friend was defined as a close personal or

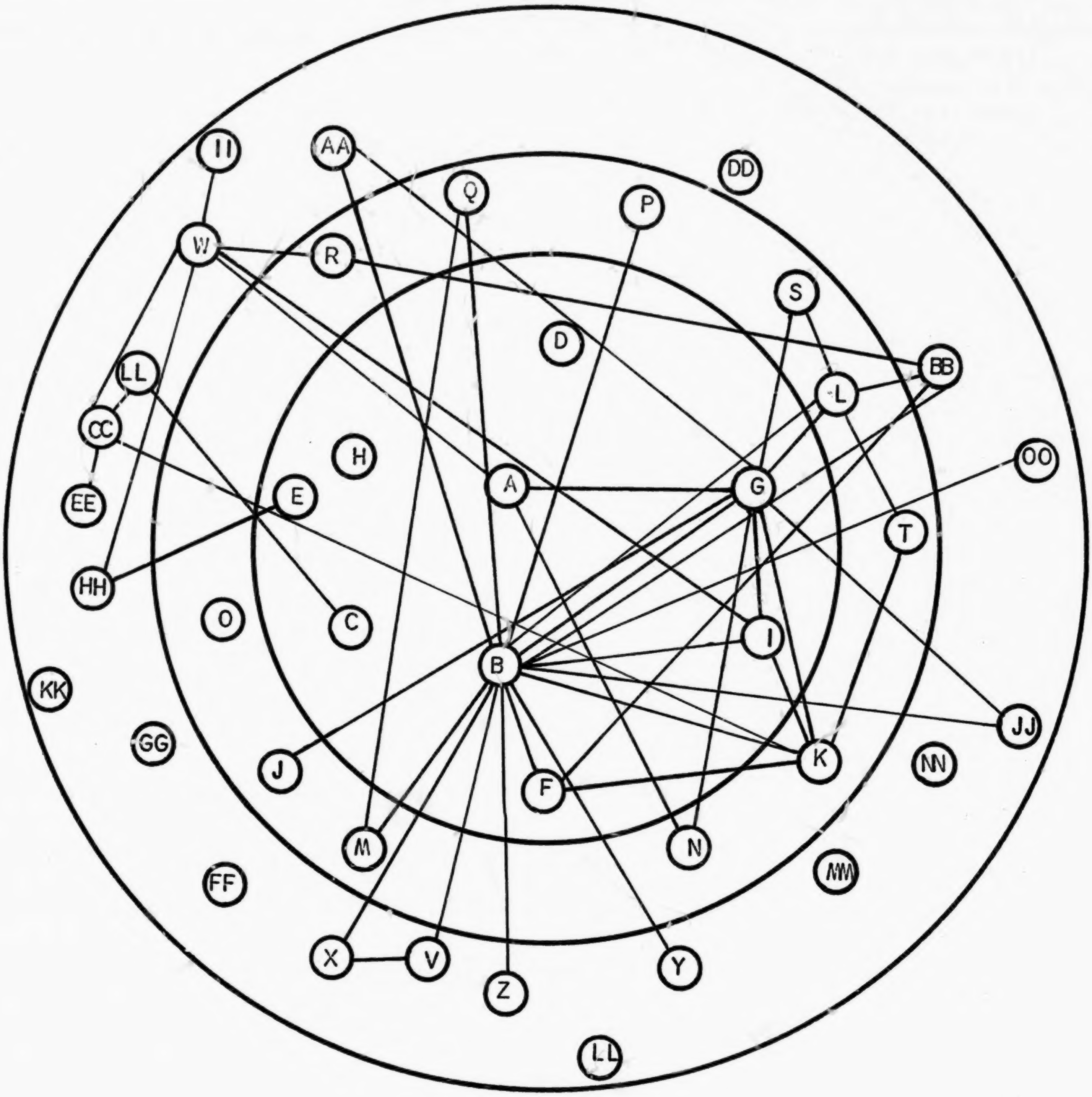
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Figure 5: Mutual selections of influential leaders having the "most reasonable opinions" about county issues in River County.

social friend. In case a respondent stated lightly that "they are all my friends" he was requested to indicate his closest friends. Figure 6 shows the concentrations of mutual selections among the leaders. Mutual friendships for those having the largest number of mutual selections were as follows: leader A, thirteen; leaders J, K, and N each had eleven; leaders B and G each had nine; and leader V had eight mutual selections.

Leaders B, F, J, V, and N were important leaders of an informal power bloc known as the Old Guard. Leaders A, N, B, I, and J were in the so-called Crosby Democrats political faction within the "crowds" that were sometimes associated with the Old Guard. Leaders G, T, L, and BB are representative of leaders in the group referred to as the Farmdale group. Leaders K, AA, and R were usually associated with the Brady Democrats, a conservative group usually in political opposition to the Crosby Democrats.

The mutual friendships tend to concentrate among the top influential classification of leaders, shown in the inner ring, and the influential leaders, placed in the middle ring. Few mutual friendships are concentrated among lower influentials who are shown in the outer ring of the sociogram.

Membership in Organizations

Three organizations were mentioned quite frequently as being the most influential organizations in River County: the Kiwanis Club (most frequently mentioned), the Chamber of Commerce, and the River County Committee of 100; the Kiwanis Club and Chamber of Commerce were the most active organizations in community affairs. Table 9 shows the membership of the leaders in several organizations mentioned most frequently as

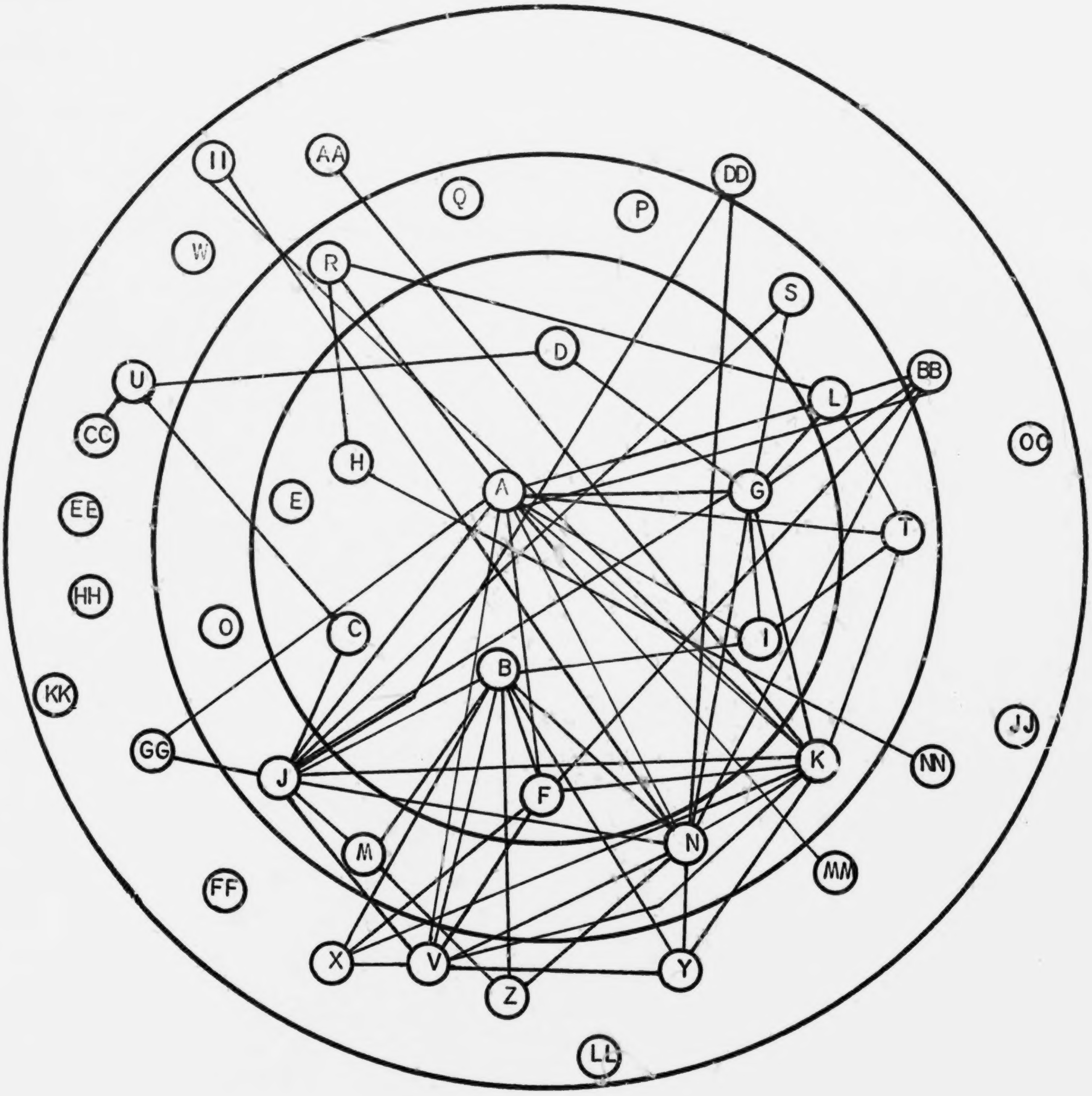
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Figure 6: Mutual selections of influential leaders who were close friends in River County.

TABLE 9

The Memberships of the River County Leaders in Selected Formal Organizations

Leader	Chamber of Commerce	Committee of 100	Sunshine Country Club	Sunshine City Kiwanis	County Fair Assn.	Taxpayers' Assn.
A	M O	M	M	M $\underline{O}$		
B	M	M	M $\underline{O}$	M $\underline{O}$	M $\underline{O}$	
C	M O	M	M	M $\underline{O}$	M	
D	M O	M	M		M	
E						
F	M $\underline{O}$	M	$\underline{M}$	$\underline{M}$ $\underline{O}$	M	
G	M		M			
H	M O	M O	M	M O	M	
I	M			M $\underline{O}$	M	M
J	M O	M	M	M O		
K	M $\underline{O}$	M $\underline{O}$	M		M	M
L	M $\underline{O}$	M	M		M	M
M	M $\underline{O}$	M	$\underline{M}$	M $\underline{O}$		
N	M	$\underline{M}$ $\underline{O}$	M	$\underline{M}$		
O	M					
P				M		
Q	M		M		M	
R	M $\underline{O}$	$\underline{M}$	M O	M $\underline{O}$		
S				M $\underline{O}$	M O	
T				M $\underline{O}$		
U	M O	M O	M	M $\underline{O}$		
V	M $\underline{O}$	M $\underline{O}$	M $\underline{O}$	M $\underline{O}$	M	
W	M O	M O	M	M	M	
X	M O	M		M $\underline{O}$	M	
Y	M $\underline{O}$	M	M	M $\underline{O}$	M	M $\underline{O}$
Z	M O	M O	M $\underline{O}$	M $\underline{O}$	M	M O
AA	M $\underline{O}$					
BB	M	M	M		M	
CC	M O	M O				
DD	M	M	M		M $\underline{O}$	$\underline{M}$
EE	M	M	M	M		
FF	M		M	M $\underline{O}$	M $\underline{O}$	M
GG	M	M			M	M O
HH						
II	M O	M $\underline{O}$	M $\underline{O}$			
JJ	M					
KK				$\underline{M}$		
LL	M		M	$\underline{M}$		
MM	M $\underline{O}$	M $\underline{O}$	M		M	
NN						
OO			M			
Total	33 20	25 10	28 5	23 17	20 4	8 3

Key: M=Member, O=Officer, former members and officers are underlined.

important, including whether the leaders held or previously held official positions in the organizations.

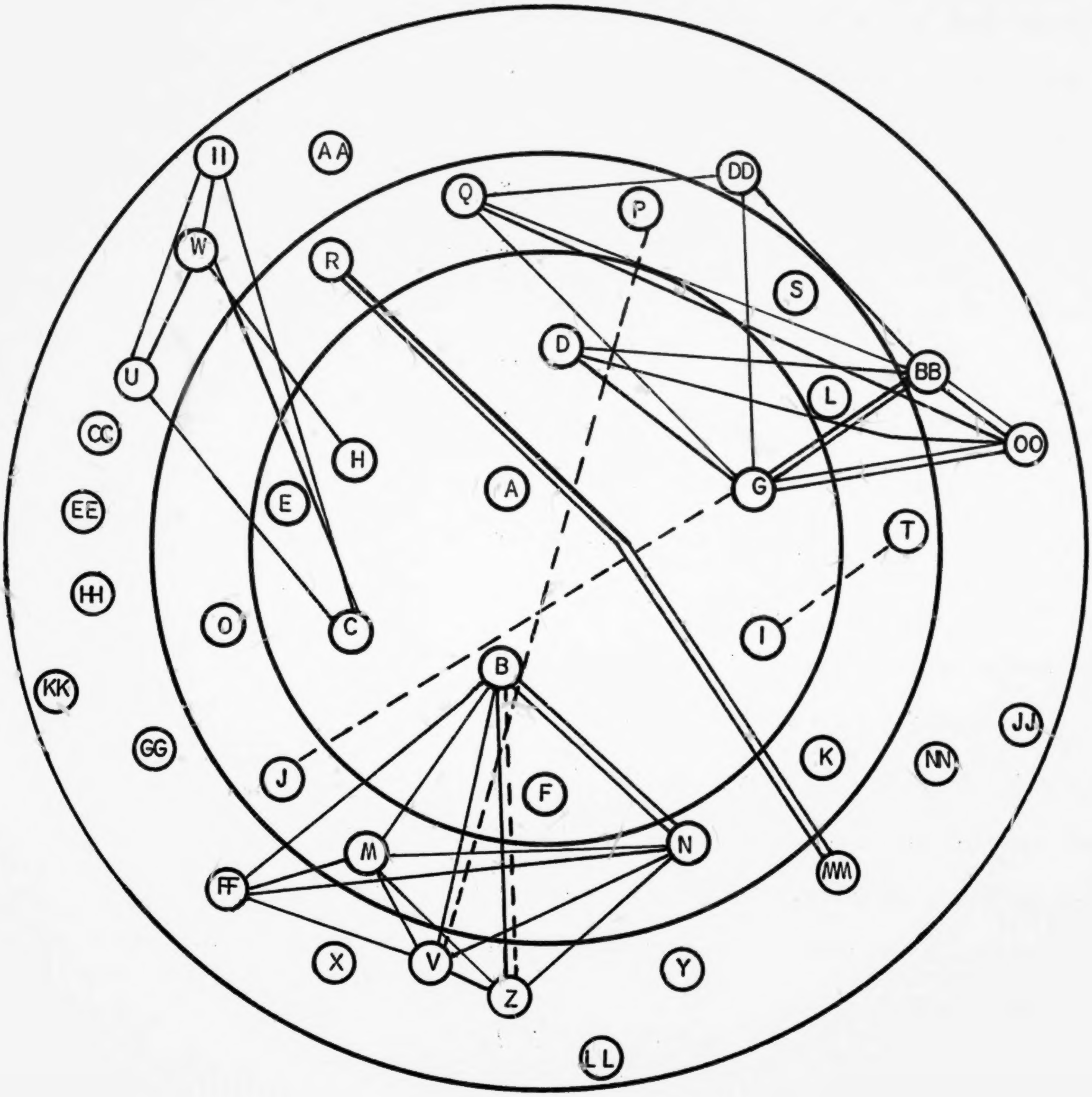
Only eight of the leaders were members of the River County Taxpayers' Association and of this number only one, leader I, the superintendent of schools, was a top influential. However, leader I was not an active leader in this organization. As will be reported later, only two lower influentials (leaders Y and GG) were active leaders in running the affairs of the Taxpayers' Association. The Taxpayers' Association was a very weak and ineffective group in comparison to the other groups listed. Many of the leaders expressed the opinion that the taxpayers' group was opposed to progress.

Note that many of the top influentials are former officials in the Kiwanis Club and Chamber of Commerce, the most active organizations in county affairs.

Business Ties among Leaders

Figure 7 shows some rather important business ties among the leaders. The reader will note some similarity of concentrations of business ties and the associations among the leaders as previously represented in Figures 4, 5, and 6.

Leaders U, W, and H were known to be core leaders in the New Emergents Group. Leaders G, D, DD, BB, and OO were acknowledged leaders of the Farmdale power group. Leaders B, N, Z, V, and M were among the men of top power in the Old Guard power group. There were no business ties between the leaders usually working together on projects in the Republican Party.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--- Employer-Employee Relationship
—— Joint Directorship

Figure 7: Business ties of the influential leaders in River County.

Other Important Associations among Reputed Leaders

Kinship was not an important association among the power wielders in River County. Many of the leaders were not native born. A large number on the list had moved to the county after World War II. Family ties were noted within particular political groups. Certain family ties existed between top influentials and lower elements of the power structure. For example, one often heard the term "The Brabsons" as an important family interest in politics.

Religious ties among the influentials, as represented in church membership, proved interesting. All but three of the forty-one leaders were members of local churches. Practically all of these persons were Protestants. Only eight of the churches in River County had more than two of the forty-one reputed leaders as their members. Twenty-three of the forty-one leaders belonged to only four churches. This concentration of leaders among so few churches afforded opportunities for interaction among the leaders. However, an analysis of these membership patterns did not indicate any particular similarity to group interests, as was so evident in business ties. Ministers reported that there was a strong feeling in the community that the church should not become involved in politics.

Leader Participation in Projects and Issues

Unlike Beach County, which had few issues concerning public services, River County was alive with conflict. Several significant issues had been resolved or were being debated at the time of the study. Groups of the reputed leaders were sometimes on opposite sides of conflicts over public policy. The county well represented the regime conflict situation described by Kammerer and associates (29) in which often at issue was "the kind of a town we want." However, not all innovations in public policy were subject to issue. Some projects, such as property reassessment and the civic auditorium, were accomplished with the cooperative support of all influentials. There was frequent and effective communication between leaders in the different groups on those projects having the cooperative support of practically all leaders. Thus the power structure in River County was complex--varying from cooperation on some projects to degrees of competition on other policy innovations.

A significant part of Interview Guide B, Appendix B, was devoted to a discussion of several significant county issues and projects. Also, as was explained in Chapter II in the discussion of Beach County, separate interviews were conducted with all top influentials and several influentials relative to their involvement in significant issues. Fifteen such interviews lasting from two to six hours were conducted in River County.

Official Involvement of Leaders in Selected Projects in River County

The involvement and interrelationships of leaders in selected projects and activities are shown in Table 10. The degree of involvement of the leaders varies from project to project. All leaders interviewed demonstrated full knowledge of the projects even though they might not have been overtly involved. This "knowledgeable understanding" was true of top influentials and influentials on all recent projects and issues, regardless of whether they were overtly involved. It indicated much informal interaction among the leaders.

TABLE 10

The Political Interrelationships of the Influential Leaders

	Political Tie	Leaders Involved
1.	Governor Brady's Patronage Committee	Leaders Q, R, and AA with Leader AA serving as chairman.
2.	Former Advisory Committee for Governor Carlson	Leaders A, B, J, N, V, and MM.
3.	Local delegation of state legislators	Leaders A, H, and L.
4.	Board of County Commissioners	Leaders E, G, O, HH, and JJ with Leader O serving as chairman.
5.	River County Industrial Development Commission	Leaders E, Z, CC, and II with Leader CC serving as executive secretary.
6.	River County Junior College Advisory Board	Leaders B, K, and OO with Leader B serving as chairman. Leader DD was a former member of this board.
7.	Other River County elected or appointive officials	Leaders D, F, S, Y, and KK.
8.	Sunshine City elected or appointive officials	Leaders F, K, V, and X. Leaders A, B, and C, formerly served.
9.	Members of the Republican Party	Leaders E, O, CC, EE, FF, HH, and LL.
10.	Members of the Democratic Party	Leaders A, B, C, D, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z, AA, BB, DD, GG, II, JJ, KK, MM, NN, and OO.

Although the pattern of involvement in the political activities presented in Table 10 changes, one notes that certain leaders tend to be involved officially in several different activities. For example, leaders E and K were officially connected with three of the activities. Leaders A and B were officially designated as leaders in four of the activities. The reputed leaders were quite popular as official members of advisory groups for various projects.

These leaders were popular in the advisory capacity for educational projects. A number of educational bond issues had been conducted over the past several years. Approximately 90 per cent of the top influentials and influentials had served as members of the advisory committees for school bond elections. Interestingly, a bond issue had never been defeated during the twenty-year period in which leader I had served as the superintendent of schools.

Public Issues in River County

A short description of leader behavior on significant civic issues and projects is provided under the headings below. In some of these there was cooperation among the reputed leaders and in others there was strong competition between power groups. In order to preserve the anonymity of informants, not even the fictitious names of the leaders are provided where direct quotes are given. In the reports of leader involvement, the terms top influential, influential, and lower influential will be used to refer to leaders listed in Table 7.

School Millage Election

As explained earlier, the school board in Florida may levy up to ten mills on assessed valuation. An additional ten-mill tax may be levied subject to a referendum of the freeholders. A complete property reassessment had recently been completed in River County by an outside tax assessment agency. The Board of Education had levied the full twenty-mill tax prior to the extensive reassessment program. In compliance with state law it became necessary for the board to hold a referendum for a new millage during the first year of reassessment. The school millage election under reassessment presented a special problem to the school superintendent and board because the exact amount of the total assessment was not available at the time the budget was considered. Therefore, the school leaders decided to set the millage election at five mills as a safety factor in case the final assessments were lower than expected. Since the board could freely levy ten mills, the vote of an additional five mills would have given it authority to levy a total of fifteen mills. The members of the board stated publicly that the full levy would not be used unless it was needed. The full levy under the expected assessment value would have doubled the revenue available under the twenty-mill levy assessed prior to reassessment.

Bob Ingram emerged as the chief spokesman for the five-mill levy. Harry Parker, the editor of a local newspaper, emerged as the spokesman for the majority of top influentials and influentials who opposed allowing the school board freedom to levy fifteen mills on the new assessments. A very influential leader in opposition to the five-mill levy stated:

> I tried to talk to Superintendent Bob Ingram about the high millage he wanted for schools, but I got nowhere so I started . . . to take our case to the people . . . We thought it would be a one-shot campaign, but Ingram made an issue out of it. He's a thoroughly competent administrator; but the big, fancy school building program costs too much money. There are too many modernistic frills on the buildings.
>
> We thought two mills would be sufficient rather than the five mills the schools were asking. The Taxpayers' Association, the cattle-

> men and citrus groups, and the Republicans were all asking that the people approve only one mill. . . You know what happened in the election—we won! Thirty-four of thirty-six precincts voted for two mills, Gulfview Estates voted for one mill, and the school administration precinct voted for five mills.

One of the influentials joining in opposition to the superintendent's proposal stated:

> The Board of Realtors appointed a committee of Bill Jones, Jr., and myself to go talk to Bob Ingram about the millage. We decided they needed only two mills. We went to talk to the school board and they turned us down. Then we got the Taxpayers' Association together and started to raise objections. We also aroused the interest of the Chamber of Commerce and the Cattlemen's Association.
>
> We had tried the quiet approach but that failed; so we organized and left nothing to chance. We raised funds to advertise against it, and we had Harry Parker sitting here with us when we planned our action.

Another influential in the power structure observed:

> We need good schools, but they are building architectual frills. I voted to cut the levy to two mills because the schools are always asking for more than they need.
>
> Both my wife and I got out to talk with other people about it. I talked to some people who make decisions like the commissioners, legislators, and school board members. In addition, I talked to my friends all around the county. They /my friends/ can make their views heard. It probably did more good than talking to the officials. I have many friends who respect my views; and after we talk it over, we agree. Each of these persons has friends themselves who they talk to. I think it's better than talking to the Kiwanis or Rotary. I talked to people like Bill Jensen who has influence with the commercial fishermen, to Guy Britton who has influence with some of the farmers, and to Matt Robinson who is a Negro foreman in the grove. You'll find key people like this all around.

A top influential observed:

> Bob Ingram talked to me about the millage election. The people were mad about property reassessment. It was the first time in years that the people turned down the school board. The school board admitted they could get along on two mills, but they were worried that the tax roll might change. I think they're getting along all right now on two mills.

Another top influential stated:

They didn't need five mills, and taxes are too high now. Bob Ingram was reaching for too much power. I'm in favor of good schools, but Ingram was getting out of hand.

An influential said:

I voted for two mills. They have enough money; they don't need a reserve. The superintendent is capable, but he's too much of a politician. The schools aren't producing enough quality students because there isn't enough emphasis on studies. They have "free" Wednesdays at the schools for meetings.

An influential said:

We have a good superintendent, but school revenue should be taken off the ad valorem taxes. We should use the sales tax to support schools, so the people who use the schools will help pay for them. I've tried for four or five years to promote it.

An influential who did not take an active public position in the issue observed:

I didn't take any action on this issue, but a two-mill levy was sufficient if the money would be properly spent. The school board asked for too much, but they wouldn't admit they were wrong.

An influential leader for the Republican Party said:

I think Ingram was the only leader for five mills, and everyone else was against it. Most people wanted to hold the school millage down. Things are too loosely run by the superintendent. Oh boy, does he like power!

Another influential stated:

Ingram was asking for five mills. Homer Yates and the newspaper were pushing for two mills. Yates also spent some money advertising /propagandizing/ against five mills. We were all involved.

A lower influential summarized his version of the issue as follows:

It was a mistake on Ingram's part to be looking so far ahead. There was almost unanimous disapproval of the high millage. The school leaders wanted a wide open reach into the handbag and it wasn't needed. The school board was trying to hedge all bets. I guess that after you're out on a limb you've got to fight. One mill would have been tight, but the leaders and the banks fought for two mills.

The selected comments above provide the general picture of what happened in resolving the issue. Superintendent of Schools Bob Ingram and the Board of Education were opposed by most of the influentials and top influentials. Furthermore, those who did not aggressively oppose the five-mill levy were content to let the superintendent of schools, the only top influential supporting the issue, suffer an agonizing defeat. The attitude expressed below by a top influential was typical of those leaders who were content to sit by and let the proposal be defeated:

> I've always been interested in school work, and Bob Ingram has been my friend for many years. Ingram and the school board members were working for five mills. Harry Parker fought against five mills very hard; and several other leaders--including Homer Yates, Bill Jones, Jr., and Dennis Fifer--also fought against five mills.
>
> I guess Ingram's public relations are at the lowest ebb ever now, but the people made the decision. I would have gone along with five mills, but the people expressed their views. I disagreed with the superintendent's approach; the two mills hasn't curtailed the educational process in the county.

Thus the school superintendent, as the only top influential supporting the proposal, could get no support from influentials in the power structure. As he talked about the issue later, he indicated that he probably made a mistake by pushing so hard; but by the time he realized the tremendous odds against him, he was too far committed to withdraw.

The analysis of the activities of leaders on this issue indicated that the key leaders, both for and against the five-mill levy, were leaders reputed to be influential. A vast majority of the leaders represented in Table 7 were opposed to the five-mill levy. The local newspaper editor and publisher, who were both influentials in the power structure, carried out a hard-hitting attack upon the proposal. A "write-in" campaign resulted in the overwhelming authorization of a two-mill levy. This issue demonstrated that a school proposal without the endorsement of most men in the "power structure" probably meant overwhelming defeat.

Property Reassessment

The proposal resulting in the reassessment issue was almost identical to the property reassessment decision described for Beach County in Chapter II. The proposal to reassess property was officially initiated by the Board of County Commissioners after much informal interaction among the top influentials and influentials in county affairs. It was an idea which had been proposed by leaders at different times for several years. The initiation of the proposal seems to have reached a climax for several reasons. The school board had levied the full twenty mills and no additional local funds were possible without higher assessments. There were increasing demands for county services. The influentials realized that other county services were needed in addition to education. There was a growing realization among businessmen that much property was not taxed because of the $5,000 homestead exemption. If assessments could be raised, more property could be taxed, thus eliminating some of the burden from business property which did not receive the homestead exemption.

The Board of County Commissioners voted to employ an outside agency to reassess all property at 100 per cent of actual value. Opposition to the proposal came from numerous citizens, especially retired persons in the county. All of the reputed top influentials, influentials, and lower influentials (see previous discussion of Table 7) were in favor of the reassessment. Some selected comments of these persons are given below:

A top influential stated:

> I was one of the leaders on this issue. I was chairman of the county commissioners when we made the arrangements with Simpson and Company to do the reassessment. Of course, the issue is all settled now. There was some objection for awhile because you know that the pocketbook is the most sensitive nerve in the body.

A top influential, reported to be one of the most influential leaders in the county, was strong in his public support of the proposal. He gave the following reasons for his action.

> I favored property reassessment strongly and supported it publicly. When I was vice-president of the Chamber of Commerce several years ago, we analyzed the tax inequalities and found that only thirty-five per cent of the people were paying all the property taxes. Property reassessment was good because it broadened the tax base and provided more equality in bringing more people under the tax umbrella. I also got a nice-sized reduction in my assessment.

Another top influential, who paid over $40,000 annually in ad valorem taxes, stated:

> I have a lot of property; so I had selfish motives in this issue. They did a good job on the reassessment because it used to be that 90 per cent of the people paid no taxes on account of the homestead exemption. There were three reasons, I think, for the reassessment. First, it would bring in more taxes. Second, it would force land out of speculative holding into use. Third, certain areas were grossly underassessed in the past. I protested two or three of my assessments, and I had one small one changed.

An influential school official, who provided strong public support for reassessment, stated:

> I favored reassessment and I've taken an active part in this issue for many years. We needed it. The real estate groups, the schools, and the county commissioners were the main groups pushing for reassessment.

Property was reassessed at 100 per cent of actual value. A few of the influentials grumbled later about the fact that assessments were placed higher than 60 to 80 per cent of true value. There were some lawsuits by individuals protesting their assessments. However, the influentials in the power structure clearly made the decision "stick," and the new assessments were an accepted fact within two years following reassessment.

The analysis of the issue showed that the leaders who initiated and publicly supported reassessment were reputed top influential and influential leaders. The proposal had the vigorous support of, or was sanctioned by, every leader in the power structure. Opposition to the proposal came from many citizens who had benefited from low assessments coupled with the homestead exemption. The opposition lacked any "power group" identification and arose spontaneously to oppose this one issue. There was no competition on this one issue between the power wielders of different power groups as was true for some other issues.

Governmental Reorganization

This issue was of special interest to the research staff because it arose during the period in which the study was made. Thus researchers could see a proposal emerge from the embryo stage into a public issue involving hundreds of citizens.

The burgeoning population concentration in the suburban areas of Sunshine City, the major population center in River County, was seen as creating potentially acute service problems. In the rapid urbanization, problems of water, streets, sewerage, and other facilities were manifest in the unincorporated areas. Several attempts to annex these areas to Sunshine City had failed. The Board of County Commissioners lacked official authority to deal with this growing problem. Furthermore, because of resistance to taxes from the large number of retired persons in these areas, the commissioners were reluctant to use their powers to provide needed services.

Through the initial interviews with the A and B instruments (Appendices A and B), the leaders usually discussed various proposals in connection with governmental reorganization. This discussion was clearly among community leaders, and no public proposal had been made at the time. The suggestions discussed included (1) metro, (2) home rule law, (3) a proposal for one big city, (4) annexation to existing cities, (5) establishment of new municipalities, and (6) provision of city services to suburban areas under private contract. Although there was disagreement, most of the leaders favored the big city proposal at the time of the initial interviews. This proposal would have created one city to include most of the municipalities in River County.

The activity of leaders in the "power structure" is typified in a statement by a top influential as follows:

> On governmental consolidation I talked around with a number of people at dinners and other gatherings. As I convinced one, the others picked up the ball. After we decided that the Chamber of Commerce couldn't handle the project, I talked with Charles Egan, Hugh Usher, and Glenn Cochran at lunch one day. Egan picked up the ball after I mentioned the names of some persons who favored the project. Egan came to me after he was ready and I suggested that Usher be appointed chairman of the steering committee. As a doctor he can do this work. I also suggested that we change the name from home rule to something else, like the governmental study group.
>
> The Chamber of Commerce has a representative on the study group; I think that the Chamber of Commerce will be a leading proponent of the proposal. Paul Andrews and Keith Holmes are committed to it. I talked to key people all over the county; the seeds have been planted, but it's a long range program. All agree we need action. I also talked to Sam Garner but he's somewhat against it. Glenn Cochran really sold Charles Egan on the idea. We're not urbanized enough for home rule. Home rule could bankrupt us and be a political football.

The leaders named by this top influential were among the most powerful leaders in River County. Although most leaders seemed to favor pushing the big city proposal, some important power wielders disagreed. One influential with definite reservations stated:

> We have some problems here. The boundaries of Sunshine City are very limited. The county commissioners have no legislative authority, and they can't provide municipal services. Charles Egan's group is planning for a metropolitan city.
>
> I think that the city should take over the county, not the county take over the city. Maybe the idea of one big city like Citrus City would be good. I don't think that they're going to be able to eliminate all of the duplication of services like they claim.
>
> The local John Birchers have warned me about hiring a trained manager to run our government; they claim it's communistic inspired. We have a lot of conservatives here but not many extremists. They only had nine people at the organization of the Coalition of Patriotic Societies.

One of the top influentials offered the following prediction concerning the outcome:

> I got out of the leadership on this issue because I'm a politician; I've turned it over to a group of five other leaders. This coordinating group is going to serve as a steering committee for the project. Hugh Usher, Larry Dixon, Colonel Meadows, and two other citizens are on this committee.
>
> We have to change with the times. Waiting for special legislative acts is sometimes a five-year job, and the county taxpayers are suffering from such delays. Then we have duplications of most services now, such as registration.
>
> In September we'll get the whole governmental study group together and start the debates. We want to give the committee members a chance to vote. We'll probably have fifty to seventy-five persons in this study group. There are about eight different types of government that they can choose from.

About six months after the initial interviews were conducted in River County, a committee was appointed by Charles Egan, a top influential and chairman of the county commission. Hugh Usher, an influential, was chairman of the committee. After a few meetings the committee was expanded to include subcommittees of representatives in various local areas affected by any proposal. The committee report was dominated by young persons associated with an emerging progressive group.

The committee held numerous meetings and made a formal proposal for a big city plan which would necessitate a local legislative act supported by the legislative delegation. Numerous leaders reputed to be influential were either overtly or covertly involved in the issue. As an example of covert involvement, Hugh Usher, chairman of the committee, had one of the top influentials go over the tentative draft of the final report and make suggestions for improvement.

When the committee report for the big city plan was made before the commission, numerous immediate reactions were voiced in protest. Those top influentials, not in complete agreement with the entire committee report, suggested a number of amendments.

A top influential who was not involved in the early stages of the project stated:

> I expected home rule, but I was surprised when they told me about the big city proposal only two days before the public hearing. The committee of Larry Dixon, Hugh Usher, and Colonel Meadows came to me to explain it. I'm against including the islands and Farmdale in it.
>
> The Chamber of Commerce has been accused of pushing this project. The areas should be annexed, but the people won't do it. The retirees are against it because it will cost them money--higher taxes. I have no stand except to favor the passage of the first referendum to study the proposal. Sunshine City will still have to continue paying off the bonds on local services they now receive themselves.

Another top influential stated:

> I perhaps am as much responsible for the big city movement as anyone. Hugh Usher is a very close friend of mine. I supported it at meetings but I don't agree entirely with the new proposal. There is antagonism west of the river in the Farmdale area, and Gulfview Estates think that they're in Palm County. Farmdale is a family-run community, and they're bitterly opposed to any amalgamation with Sunshine City.

The research team attended a number of public meetings on the proposal. Some members of subcommittees complained that the committee report had never been approved by the committee. Various persons, who represented organizations, voiced opposition. The legislative delegation held meetings in various local communities within River County in which the big city proposal was severely attacked by various persons and groups. Numerous persons living outside Sunshine City were opposed to any legislation. The legislative delegation later offered several important amendments to the committee report. The determination of some leaders in the power structure to obtain legislation was typified by a top influential following a tumultuous legislative hearing.

> These people are all howling at Hugh Usher about this fine report; but I'll tell you now it is going to come whether they like it or not or whether we do anything now. It's just a matter of time. Progress does not wait on the feelings of people. Something will eventually have to be done.

In his comprehensive report of the issue Wellman (56, pp. 141-142) observed:

> It is significant that these amendments coincided very closely with the criticisms expressed earlier by the influential leaders and citizens in the county. The influential leaders did not feel that some areas of the county, notably Farmdale and the Islands, should be included in the bill, especially if the residents in those areas did not want to join. The final two amendments left these areas out of the bill. The restrictions in the final big city bill, especially the limited area to be included in the new city, were somewhat discouraging to the young, emerging leaders and the Republicans who had worked so hard on the proposal. However, the final bill was a compromise between the various groups involved in the project.
>
> With support from the majority of the influential leaders and some citizens in the county, the three local legislators introduced the big city proposal in the legislature even though many of the citizens wanted the whole project dropped without even permitting a referendum.

The legislative delegation did obtain passage of the big city proposal as amended. Although there was disagreement among the leaders in the power structure on this bill, the final legislative act was similar in some respects to the views originally expressed by leaders in the embryo stage of the project. The great importance of informal interaction was striking as the proposal grew toward issue and eventual legislation. In fact, the committee report itself appeared to be the result of informal interaction among a few leaders in the power structure.

A final disposition of this problem was not accomplished during the period of this study. In the first referendum, brought about by legislative enactment, suburban areas voted in opposition to the big city plan. Therefore, this is one of those regime questions in which several years of conflict may be involved before a clear policy is established. There was conflict between the influentials in the power structure on this issue.

Planning and Zoning

The rapid development of areas outside incorporated areas of River County presented serious planning and zoning problems. A committee was appointed by the River County Board of County Commissioners to develop a new zoning ordinance. Charles Egan, Ken Ogden, and Ben Hahn, who were well-known leaders in the Republican Party, initiated the action on the issue. These men dominated the Commission at the time the studies were initiated. A professional planner was appointed as chairman of the committee.

A storm of protests was heard when the Commission held public hearings on the proposed new planning and zoning ordinance. Furthermore, the proposed ordinance was patterned after model ordinances in urban areas and contained some disadvantages for the agricultural areas, which made it easy to attack. As the issue developed, it took on more of a partisan struggle between the Democrats and Republicans. It was quite evident that the committee had made a mistake by not involving more of the top influentials in framing the provisions of the ordinance.

As an example of this lack of communication, school superintendent Bob Ingram was not informed that the committee report contained a provision for controlling the location of schools. Ingram, upon learning that such a provision was in the report, became immediately involved in having this eliminated from the new ordinance.

Hearings on the ordinance were very noisy. Numerous influentials became involved after the committee made its report. As one influential expressed his feelings:

> The hearing was nearly a mob action. Victor Kiker /a professional planner/ is really a dreamer, and William Vincent got his ears pinned back. I was a member of the legislature in 1947, and I was beaten for reelection on the zoning issue. The people didn't want zoning.

A top influential and strong leader in the Republican power clique stated:

> The realtors gave us a bad time because they don't understand it. One man, Al Billett, is trying to run this county; something is wrong with him. Homer Yates gave us some trouble, too.
>
> I tried to handle the meeting diplomatically and let all of the people who were opposed to it have a chance to talk. They understand it better now, and we'll incorporate some of their ideas in the final proposal. People are leery of things they don't understand.

Another influential observed:

> I spent six days on planning and zoning during the hearings. Kiker didn't have the feel of the people when he developed the proposal. The people made it an emotional issue. We asked for about thirty changes and we got more than that.

Another top influential stated:

> While I was in the legislature, I set up the first zoning law for this county. We've got a zoning law now, but it hasn't been handled very well since then. Now they have gone too far, and there are a lot

> of bad features in the new planning and zoning law. In 1961 I called Tallahassee to stop passage of a planning and zoning law; it was bad. They're trying to get a little dictatorship here, but they should let the people decide on it.

A top influential made it clear that legislative action would be taken unless the ordinance was amended.

> The county's proposal may be too powerful and comprehensive. The planner is too visionary, and the planning and zoning board is very dictatorial; they're allowed too much administrative power. Our local legislative delegation may have to take some action on planning and zoning.

Wellman found that the committee which developed the proposal failed to involve informally top influentials and influentials in the power structure. The committee recommendation was dominated by professional planners. Wellman concluded (56, p. 147):

> There was a definite indication that this issue developed into a political conflict between Republicans and Democrats. The Republican officials, who controlled the county government at the time, developed the new planning and zoning code rather than use the old code developed some time ago by the Democrats. The Democrats in turn used the objections of realtors, farmers, and some homeowners to the Republican proposal as a basis for creating a political issue. However, there was also some indication that the Republicans disturbed some of the influential leaders in the community by not discussing the proposal with them prior to its public presentation. Most of the key influentials did not take a public role in this issue. Nevertheless, the final proposal on planning and zoning resulted in a compromise between all interested groups. This issue was a good example of a problem that was not settled informally by the influential leaders originally. It then became a public controversy; public hearings and informal discussions with various groups were necessary to reach a compromise that would satisfy most of the people.

The Democrats were able to exploit this issue in the following county election. The Democratic candidates won every single office contested in the election, whereas the Republicans had won all but one of the county offices in the previous county election.

Housing

This issue was confined to Sunshine City, the county seat of River County. It was an issue which had reappeared sporadically and for which no solution had been made. It recurred because of a disastrous fire in the slum areas of Sunshine City in which several persons were killed. There was an immediate demand from several leaders for action. A top influential stated:

> I was the first director of the local housing authority. We had a bad slum situation and it was getting worse. However, there was a great hue and cry against federal funds; so we held off action for a year to let private money do the job. But there was no action from private industry; so the public housing authority went to work to eradicate the slums and provide adequate houses for the low income groups.
>
> Unfortunately, there was a tendency of the authority to relax after each project. The lack of inspection meant the fast deterioration of the project housing. Herb Finley worked hard to help. Malcolm Barnes, Perry Vogel, Dr. Clark, Tom King, and the Chamber of Commerce also participated in it. K. J. Tarrington fought it the hardest, but he has brought his places up to standard.

K. J. Tarrington was often mentioned as opposed to public housing. He was a millionaire who owned much of the slum housing involved. A top influential observed:

> All of us realize that something must be done. We must train these people to take care of themselves. I meet with them about once a month. However, the owners of the shacks, such as K. J. Tarrington, squelch the newspaper reports on the problem.

Our investigation of this issue showed that many of the influentials had become involved in this recurring issue. Paul Andrews, Charles Egan, Herb Finley, Malcolm Barnes, Perry Vogel, Tom King, Homer Yates, and Stuart Clark were among them.

The Civic Auditorium Project

Several of the top influentials, including Larry Dixon, Malcolm Barnes, and Herb Finley, were instrumental in initiating a proposal to build a civic auditorium in Sunshine City. Some of the influentials agreed but held out for a public referendum.

The proposal was opposed by a large number of citizens and was defeated in two separate referendums. The leaders for the issue were persistent and the auditorium was built anyway, using revenue certificates to finance it. As one top influential explained:

> I favored the city auditorium. There was no need for a referendum though. Sometimes the politicians have to do something whether the people know it's good for them or not. They were only criticized more after the referendum than if they had just gone ahead and completed it without the vote of the people.

Wellman (56, p. 154) after investigating the issue, concluded that the top influentials, as a group, were for the project.

> Herb Finley and Stuart Clark were considered to be two of the leaders in this project. The majority of the influential leaders, especially the businessmen in Sunshine City, supported the project. In the two referendums the voters defeated the proposal to finance the building of a new auditorium by issuing general obligation bonds to be repaid from property taxes. Even though the people of the city voted this down, the leaders made arrangements to complete the project through revenue certificates on the belief that it would benefit the community. The annual franchise fee collected from the Southern Power and Light Company was used as a basis for the issuance of revenue certificates to finance the construction of the auditorium. Many people now were satisfied with the auditorium, but there were still a few who objected to the way the project was handled when the voters defeated the proposal in the referendums. This issue was a good example of informal, cooperative action on the part of the influential leaders settling a problem after the citizens had publicly defeated the proposal.

School Board Election Issue

The selection of a person to fill the unexpired term on the County Board of Education for Henry Brabson, Jr., who died in office, became a significant civic issue. A review of this issue is important here because it demonstrates that the Democratic Party was actually made up of several competing power groups. Under Florida law, Governor Frank Brady appointed someone to fill the unexpired term of Mr. Brabson.

Several leaders in the Crosby Democrat power clique and the Farmdale informal power group proposed to Governor Brady that Mrs. Harriet Brabson, the widow of Henry Brabson, be appointed. Another power clique, which we will refer to as the Brady Democrats, had close ties with Governor Brady and proposed that Gene Harding be appointed. Governor Brady appointed Mr. Harding, whom leaders in the Crosby Democrat group described as an ultraconservative.

At the next election, the Crosby Democrats and Farmdale group, with the assistance of powerful leaders in the Old Guard group, supported Mrs. Harriet Brabson, who opposed Mr. Harding in the Democratic primary for the school post. The competition was strong between the power factions in the primary. Mrs. Brabson won the primary and later defeated the Republican candidate for the school board position. Our investigation showed that Mrs. Brabson, with the exception of the Brady Democrats and the Republican party, had the support of most top influentials and influentials in the power structure. Furthermore, this was considered a victory for the Crosby Democrats over the Brady Democrats.

Integration of the Public Schools

Of interest to the investigators was the decision to integrate the public schools in River County. Several Negroes applied for admission to a previously all white school. The usual pattern of informal involvement of top influentials, influentials, and public officials occurred on the matter. There was a strong sentiment among the influentials and members of the board to keep the situation from becoming a public controversy. Superintendent Ingram was instrumental in solving the problem.

A top influential stated:

> Bob Ingram and Norman Taylor handled the situation okay. There was no trouble from it. They /Negroes in the integrated school/ are good Negroes to have their rights; they need a good education to become good citizens.

Through the influence and cooperation of Harry Parker, the local press helped to settle the problem amicably. The Negroes were admitted without incident. When the action was discussed at the board meeting, a Republican candidate for membership on the Board of Education appeared and attempted to make an issue of the action. However, his attempt was quickly quieted. He was later defeated in his race for the board position.

A top influential gave a typical reaction of the power wielders in River County by stating:

> I admire the school board for their decision. I knew about it several days before the vote when the superintendent asked me about it.

Although Bob Ingram, Norman Taylor, and Harry Parker were key leaders in the decision, they obtained the overwhelming support of the men of power in River County for the action taken. The decision in this case did not precipitate an issue. However, if the power wielders had not supported the able leadership of Ingram and Parker in making the decision, this incident could easily have become an issue.

Other Issues and Decisions Investigated in the Study

Some eighteen issues and significant decisions were investigated in the entire study. The issues described in some detail above illustrate the types of issues investigated. Other issues or decisions investigated included (a) an election issue for the Board of Education, (b) election of two County Commissioners, (c) local involvement in a gubernatorial election, (d) administration of River Memorial Hospital, (e) reorganization of the Chamber of Commerce, and (f) economic base study.

This analysis showed that several of the top influentials and influentials listed earlier in Table 7 usually assumed an active role in the major issues. The data show that the influentials and top influentials were involved in issues more frequently than the persons attributed low influence by knowledgeable persons in River County. Furthermore, other influentials, not publicly involved, were informally involved in each significantly hard-fought issue. Consequently, there was much overlap between those named as actively associated with issues and those persons who were named as powerful through an analysis of reputational measures of influence.

Power Over Organizations

A case study of seven organizations, similar to that reported for Beach County in Chapter II, was completed in River County. The seven organizations included the River County Chamber of Commerce, American Legion, Historical Society, League of Women Voters, Kiwanis, Parent Teachers' Association, and the Taxpayers' Association. A copy of the interview guide used in the study appears as Appendix C. An average of six persons were interviewed in each organization. One purpose of this study was to determine who had the greatest influence upon the activities of each organization. The study showed that influential persons in the informal power groups of the county controlled the Chamber of Commerce, Historical Society, Kiwanis, Parent Teachers' Association, and the Taxpayers' Association.

Bob Ingram and his followers, for the most part, directed the activities of the Parent Teachers' Association. None of the top influentials or influentials were leaders in the relatively inactive American Legion. The leaders of the other organizations are identified in Table 11.

TABLE 11

Leaders in Selected Organizations

Organization	Leaders
Chamber of Commerce	Stuart Clark, Ted Zuber, Larry Dixon, Bill Jones, Tom King, Malcolm Barnes (see Table 7 for rank of leaders)
Historical Society	Stuart Clark and Homer Yates
Kiwanis	Herb Finley, Bert Xavier, Dennis Fifer, Bill Jones, Stuart Clark, Malcolm Barnes
Taxpayers' Association	Quincy Gage, Homer Yates, Rex May, Bob Orr, Joe Ely (only Gage and Yates were listed in Table 7)

The Chamber of Commerce and Kiwanis were the prestige organizations in River County. The taxpayers' and historical organizations were relatively weak and unimportant groups so far as county policy-making was concerned. It is quite evident that some of the top influentials and influentials were key leaders in the Chamber of Commerce and Kiwanis--the organizations most often identified as having important influence in the county. Most of the top influentials and influentials were members of these two organizations and had previously served in official capacity.

The pattern of membership and official status of reputed top influentials, influentials, and lower influentials was presented for six selected organizations in Table 9, page 61. The evidence presented in Table 9 manifests the strong concentration of the reputed leaders in five of the six organizations mentioned as important in civic affairs. This table indicates that the leaders have frequently been officers in the Chamber of Commerce and Sunshine City Kiwanis. These were the most active organizations in the district. Most of these men were members of the Committee of 100, Sunshine Country Club, and Fair Association. Few of them were members of the Taxpayers' Association. The Taxpayers' Association was relegated to a very low status by the power wielders and was described by one top influential as "a bunch of aginners."

Perceptions of Community Power Structure

A part of Interview Guide B, Appendix B, was devoted to obtaining information about the actual process of decision-making. The large amount of data obtained was analyzed to show how the leaders viewed the power structure in River County. Typical of the expressions which indicated that a redistribution of power had occurred was the following:

> Years ago we had a monolith here. K. J. Tarrington controlled the city council and nobody ran against him. You always needed to get the support of Bill Jones and Malcolm Barnes for any project. The River County National Bank ran Sunshine City and to some extent the county.

Another young leader agreed substantially with the informant quoted above by saying:

> The Old Guard is losing its hold now. Most of them are businessmen and their hold has been shaken. They were a tight-knit group that never delegated any leadership; they weren't interested in developing young leaders. The Old Guard included Malcolm Barnes, Bill

> Jones, Perry Vogel, and Stuart Clark. They used to hold Chamber of Commerce meetings while they were meeting at Kiwanis. Now the community has outgrown them.
>
> There were no real political bosses although Henry Brabson, Sr., used to be one. Neither party has any dominating influence now. The county executive board has lost control of the Democrats here. Dick Adams, Russell Ryan, and George Quigley are all on Governor Brady's patronage committee.

This perception appears to be well substantiated by most statements about the power structure in River County. At one time a monopolistic informal power structure existed. However, this no longer exists as the following statement indicates:

> It used to be terrible here. Bill Jones, Sam Garner, and Henry Brabson,Sr., controlled the commissioners. Jones used to control this town, too; but his power has been broken lately. Malcolm Barnes used to have influence over the Chamber of Commerce, but his power is gone now, too.
>
> The rich Democrats all supported Governor Crosby. The poor Democrats supported Frank Brady. Russell Ryan and George Quigley are Brady supporters.

Another top influential who had lived in the county for over thirty years stated:

> For thirty years we had a group of leaders working on projects in this county. This old group of leaders included Stuart Clark, Bert Xavier, Malcolm Barnes, Bill Jones, K. J. Tarrington, Tony Bertilenni, and Tom Cartright. Cartright died, though, and now his nephew--Perry Vogel--operates the newspaper and works with this group. Bertilenni owns the Florida Products Corporation, and he has been quite a leader in this county. This group would also get Sam Garner and the Brabsons to work with them.
>
> These oldtimers built the two hotels, the old Chamber of Commerce building, and promoted the $100,000 development of the waterfront in the 1920's.
>
> Now there is a political group of Paul Andrews, Dwight Mumford, Malcolm Barnes, Bill Jones, and Ted Nash who get together to pick good men for the job. This group wanted Louis Crosby and then Dave Chapman to be governor.

The following statement was typical of the statements about the existence of different power groups:

> Some of the leaders work closely together. Hugh Usher, Dr. Clark, Edgar White, and Glenn Cochran work closely with the new county commissioners. All but Dr. Clark are newcomers here.
>
> Larry Dixon, Curtis Camp, Matthew Eden, Russ Ryan, Sam Garner, Dr. Clark, Ted Nash, and Tom King work as a group usually.
>
> Another strong group here includes Malcolm Barnes, Ted Zuber, Dan Martin, Bill Jones, Bob Ingram, Sam Garner, Barney Jorjand, Perry Vogel, and sometimes Tom King.

Another person observed:

> We definitely have groups here. One group of Bert Xavier, Dennis Fifer, Malcolm Barnes, Perry Vogel, and Stuart Clark have the same opinions and take the same actions in Kiwanis, the Chamber of Commerce, and politics. Tom King and Ted Nash are also members of this group. Bill Jones used to be in this group, but he is beginning to pull his influence out of the picture.
>
> Paul Andrews, Perry Vogel, and Herb Finley are like the three musketeers; if you pinch one, the other two will jump--and they're two Baptists and a Methodist.
>
> Bob Ingram and Norman Taylor stick closely together. They are two of our better known educators. Taylor won't be president of Kiwanis until the year after next.
>
> Bruce Lane, Larry Dixon, Sam Garner, and Curtis Dodge are the west-of-the-river combine from Farmdale.
>
> The last group we have are the Republicans. They are led by the three Republican commissioners--Ben Hahn, Charles Egan, and Ken Ogden.

There were different power groups in River County. This was evident both from an analysis of leader participation in selected civic issues and from the great weight of reputational information gathered. On some issues these groups definitely agreed on goals and worked together. When the leaders in the different groups cooperated on a project, it was--in every instance--adopted. If there were disagreements the project failed or was compromised. One of the top influentials recognized this characteristic of the power structure and made the following statement:

> We don't have any single leader like some counties. Even Stuart Clark doesn't follow Malcolm Barnes unless both are for it. Most of the leaders have their own group of followers; I guess if they didn't have these crowds, they wouldn't be leaders.

> The groups may break up; it depends on the issue. Most of them work together with things they agree on, and they work together with persons they have worked with before. All are strong men taken as individuals. When they agree, it'll go. For instance, they put in the auditorium over the vote of the people.

Thirty-six of the influential leaders interviewed perceived that a multigroup power structure existed in River County. This indicated that, generally speaking, a concept of political competition was firmly implanted in the thinking of River County leaders and public officials. A large number of the leaders, however, gave evidence that supported a fluidity of leader movement among the different groups. The so-called Old Guard was the only informal power group perceived as having a relatively stable membership during recent years.

There was considerable overlap among the influentials identified in different groups. Some persons were identified as having a close political, friendship, economic, and social ties with the membership of more than one group. This fact is very evident in the sociograms presented earlier in this chapter.

The Power Structure in River County—A Summary

Data presented in this chapter are only a selected, representative portion of the data used in reaching a conclusion with regard to the nature of power in River County. A multiclustered power structure existed. The groups in the power structure often competed for a position of influence over the policies established by the Board of Education and the Board of County Commissioners. There was a regime conflict evident in some issues as described by Kammerer (29) over "the kind of a county we want."

There were also splendid examples of projects and issues (e.g., property reassessment, civic auditorium) in which almost complete agreement and cooperation between leaders in the different groups in the power structure resulted in action. In other examples (e.g., governmental reorganization, school millage election) a majority of the leaders supported one position on the issues. The analysis of the results of issues where agreement and cooperation among the leaders was present proved unquestionably that the men of power in River County could get things done.

Although some of the power groups were formal (e.g., the Republican and Democratic parties), most of the groups were informal power groups (e.g., Old Guard, New Emergents, and Farmdale group) or informal cliques which functioned within formal organizations (e.g., Crosby Democrats and Brady Democrats).

Our analysis of the activities of leaders in the initiation of and involvement in projects and the subsequent outcomes of the projects revealed the great importance of the informal leadership activity. The success of any project, including education, in River County depended upon the extent to which it had the informal endorsement of leaders in the competitive power groups. Furthermore, there was a characteristic pattern of leader involvement on most issues. Wellman (56, pp. 95-97) summarized this pattern of decision-making as follows:

> 1. A proposal to solve a county problem was presented first to a few close friends for their opinion before any further action was taken.
> 2. Informal discussions with other influential leaders were usually held before a proposal was presented for public consideration. The leaders relied upon each other for advice and help in the presentation of a proposal.

3. These informal discussions among the influential leaders were often held over coffee or after dinner in the homes of the leaders, in their offices, or at the meetings of various organizations.

4. Some persons likely to oppose the project were included in the informal discussions so that the proposal would be debated from various viewpoints and would be modified if necessary in order to obtain wide support.

5. The originator of the proposal usually did some research on the project before presenting the proposal to objectors or to large groups; he had to be ready to answer questions about the proposal.

6. Persons who would later be involved in the project because of their official positions and those who would be affected by the project were also asked their opinions about the plan in an informal manner.

7. When speaking informally or publicly to groups studying the plan, the originator of the proposal would try to lead the discussion of the project in the "right direction," but he wouldn't force his opinions of the plan on other influential leaders.

8. A leader gave credit to the group for their work on a project rather than take credit himself.

9. If the project was worthwhile, it was the consensus that the other leaders were reasonable and would take some action on it.

10. If the influential leaders weren't convinced that the proposal was worthwhile, it usually failed. The leaders felt that if at least six to ten of the influential leaders strongly supported a plan, it was highly likely to succeed.

11. If the leaders informally agreed that the proposal had merit, each leader contacted his friends to discuss the plan and to gain further support for the proposal.

12. Frequently, citizen advisory groups or committees in some of the formal organizations were established to study the problem and present recommendations. Such formal action occurred after the leaders involved in the proposal agreed that further action of this nature was beneficial for the project.

13. No publicity was encouraged during the early informal discussions, but the newspaper was asked to publish information on the project once agreement was reached by the leaders.

14. After the initial informal discussions, complete information about the plan was presented to the public in order to keep the residents of the county informed about the project and to try to acquire their support.

15. The proposal was presented to many formal organizations in the county after these initial informal discussions among the leaders themselves. A leader or one of his friends would first explain the project to the officers of the organization informally; after gaining their approval, the plan would be presented formally at a meeting of the organization.

16. The formal organizations were considered as a good sounding board for the promotion of county projects. If the organization approved the proposal, it also served as a good public supporter of the plan.

17. Partisan politics were kept out of the informal discussions as much as possible.
18. Governmental officials were always contacted informally by a leader or his friend about the proposal before any presentation was made at a public meeting.
19. The final outcome of the project was generally known by the leaders before the formal vote of the authorities.

With the exception of the Old Guard, a high-powered informal group, the leadership structure of most power groups was not hierarchical, and fluidity of membership was manifest in leader identification in groups. The top leadership in the Old Guard had a definite pecking order. The Old Guard was the strongest single power group in the district. In fact, the so-called Crosby Democrats, Democrats, and, to some extent, leaders in the Farmdale group were subdivision factions within the Old Guard.

In his extensive analysis of the competing groups, Wellman (56, p. 214) observed:

> This strengthened the belief that the Old Guard was the most influential informal group in River County and was closely associated with the other informal groups, and it indicated a tendency toward cooperation among the various informal groups. However, there was no doubt that the Old Guard was the strongest informal group in the power structure, but not without keen competition occasionally from other groups.

In opposition to the Old Guard, and its splintered and sometimes competing factions, were the Republican Party, New Emergents, and Brady Democrats. Furthermore, the leaders in the Farmdale group, although having some close ties with leaders in the Old Guard, were sometimes in competition with the Old Guard. Keen competition existed between the Brady Democrats and the Crosby Democrats. Top influentials of the Old Guard usually supported the Crosby Democrats. The New Emergents, a group of young businessmen, worked closely with leaders in the Republican Party. The Republican Party often served as the hub and chief instrument for competition in elections against the Old Guard and its factions. The Republicans held three of the five positions on the Board of County Commissioners at the beginning of the study. The Republican candidates won all except one of the county offices contested in an election just prior to the beginning of this study. However, in an election held during the study, the Democrats won every office up for election. The Democrats held a majority of the positions on the Board of County Commissioners at the close of the study.

Wellman (56) graphically portrayed the competitive power structure as shown in Figure 8. One could also portray the structure as a series of intersecting circles of influence. In discussing the structure, Wellman (56, p. 218) stated:

> The Old Guard is shown as the strongest informal group to correspond with the results of this study. The other informal groups were placed in the figure according to their reputed relationship to the Old Guard. Some groups were more closely associated with the Old Guard than were other groups. There was much overlapping among the groups indicating that some leaders were members of several groups. This also indicated that the various groups often cooperated with each other as coalitions of informal groups in the decision-making process.
>
> The power structure, as diagramed in Figure 8, does not mean that the same groups with their relative degree of influence existed in a similar fashion in previous years, nor does it mean that these groups will continue with the same extent of influence in the future. The rapid changes now occurring in the county indicated that the structure of leadership was changing and that the future will probably demonstrate some shifting of influence among the groups of the influential leaders. Of course, the extent of influence attributed to each individual leader also tends to change as the conditions in the county change.

Thus, the power structure in River County was not a fragmented pluralism. It was a multigroup structure with overlapping memberships which varied between strong competition and cooperation upon projects and issues. The structure behaved as though it were sometimes a monolith and sometimes a pluralism. Considerable fluidity of leader association with

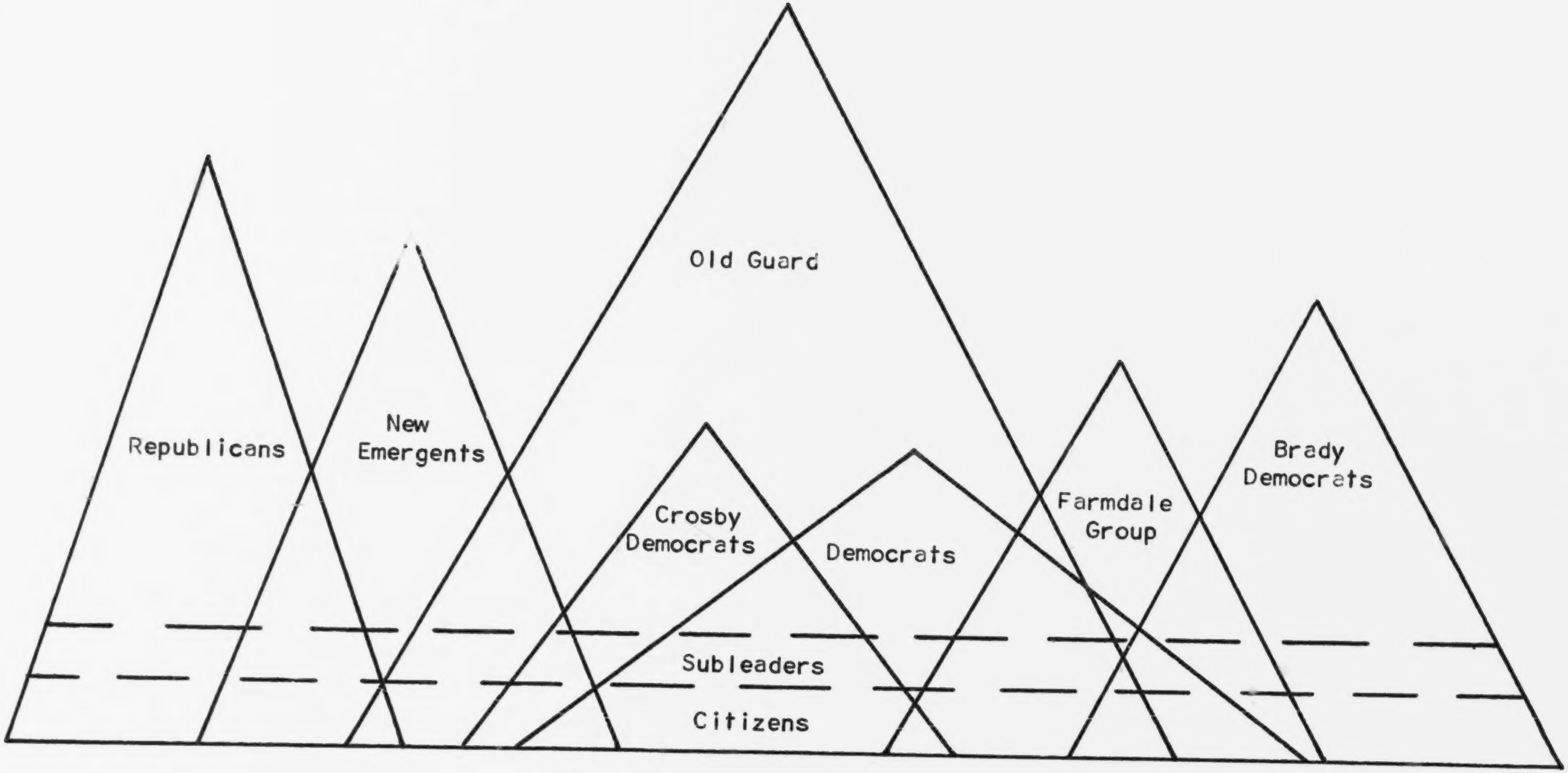
Old Guard
Republicans
New
Emergents
Crosby
Democrats
Democrats
Farmdale
Group
Brady
Democrats
Subleaders
Citizens

Figure 8: A graphic portrayal of the power structure of River County.

different groups was evident. Conflicts between the groups usually evolved from important regime questions of public policy. Thus, because the structure does not fit the pattern of monopoly, as depicted by Hunter (26), or a fragmented pluralism, as advanced by Dahl (13), it will be referred to as a competitive power structure. No one group could control the power structure in River County.

The public schools were influenced greatly by Bob Ingram and the leaders associated with him in the Crosby Democrat and Old Guard groups. Bob Ingram was a very powerful leader. From every measure of power used in the study, Ingram came out as one of the most powerful men in the power structure in River County. In contrast to this, the educational officials in Beach County held a very low power status.

Some personal data about the top influentials, influentials, and lower influentials are shown in Table 12. The persons are identified in the order of their reputed influence which, in most instances, was consistent with their actual influence on county issues and projects. Note especially the strong position of Bob Ingram, the superintendent of schools. Ingram was, without a doubt, one of the strongest men of power in River County. Although businessmen were strongly represented, one notes that retirees and professionals held a higher position of influence in River County than was found in Beach County. In River County some of the leaders were not long-time residents, as were the leaders in Beach County. Nineteen, or almost half of the leaders in River County, had resided in the county only sixteen years or less, whereas only one of the leaders in Beach County had resided in the county such a short period of

TABLE 12

Power Wielders in River County

Name	Occupation	Elected Public Office	Years Resident in County	Church Preference	Rank
Paul Andrews	Vice-President, Florida Products Co.	State Senator	16	Baptist	1
Malcolm Barnes	Banker	None	37	Baptist	2
Stuart Clark	Physician	None	32	Methodist	3
Larry Dixon	President, Savings and Loan Co.	None	36	Methodist	4
Charles Egan	Retired Officer, Armed Services	County Commissioner	6	No Preference	5
Herb Finley	Business Manager	Mayor	25	Methodist	6
Sam Garner	Bank Director	Former County Commissioner	50	Episcopal	7
Keith Holmes	Attorney	State Representative	40	Episcopal	8
Bob Ingram	School Administrator	Superintendent of Schools	30	Interdenominational	9
Bill Jones	Real Estate, Insurance	None	38	Baptist	10

TABLE 12--Continued

Name	Occupation	Elected Public Office	Years Resident in County	Church Preference	Rank
Tom King	Dress Shop Owner	None	56	Methodist	11
Bruce Lane	Real Estate, Insurance	State Representative	34	Methodist	12
Dan Martin	Attorney	None	48	Baptist	13
Ted Nash	Ranch Owner	None	59	Episcopal	14
Ken Ogden	Retired	County Commissioner	9	Baptist	15
Harry Parker	Newspaper Editor	None	4	Methodist	16
George Quigley	President, Savings and Loan Co.	None	43	Baptist	17
Russell Ryan	Oil Distributor	None	42	Presbyterian	18
Kelvin Smith	County Agricultural Agent	None	10	Methodist	19
Norman Taylor	President, Junior College	None	5	Methodist	20
Hugh Usher	Physician	None	8	Episcopal	21
Perry Vogel	Newspaper Publisher	None	16	Baptist	22
Edgar White	Bank President	None	4	Episcopal	23

TABLE 12--Continued

Name	Occupation	Elected Public Office	Years Resident in County	Church Preference	Rank
Bert Xavier	Department Store Proprietor	None	48	Baptist	24
Homer Yates	Real Estate	None	42	Methodist	25
Ted Zuber	Bank Vice-president	None	6	Presbyterian	26
Dick Adams	President, Credit Union	None	15	Methodist	27
Harold Brabson	Large Farm Owner	None	48	Baptist	28
Glenn Cochran	Executive Director, Chamber of Commerce	None	2	Episcopal	29
Curtiss Dodge	Bank President	None	36	Methodist	30
Matthew Eden	Bank President	None	2	Presbyterian	31
Dennis Fifer	Farmer	None	50	Presbyterian	32
Quincy Gage	Manager, Department Store	None	16	Baptist	33
Ben Hahn	Retired	County Commissioner	9	Presbyterian	34
Leroy Ivins	Retired	None	7	Episcopal	35

TABLE 12--Continued

Name	Occupation	Elected Public Office	Years Resident in County	Church Preference	Rank
Barney Jorjand	Citrus Processing Business	County Commissioner	30	Baptist	36
Victor Kiker	County Planner	None	2	Baptist	37
Stan Leland	Motel Owner	None	3	Catholic	38
Dwight Mumford	Banker	None	38	Presbyterian	39
Gilbert Nance	Attorney	State Democratic Chairman	15	Baptist	40
Mrs. Harriet Brabson	Housewife	School Board	32	Baptist	41

time. Thus, the power structure in River County was more open to the emergence of new leaders to positions of power than the Beach County power structure.

Summary

The findings in River County generally support hypothesis I in that relatively few persons among the population of 70,000 were represented in the upper limits of the power structure. Much of the leadership activity on projects was informal. It was clear that Bob Ingram, with the support of leaders in the Old Guard and Brady Democrat groups, had the greatest influence upon educational policies. However, when compared with the small clique that ran Beach County, power in River County was divided among far more persons than was true of Beach County. The differences between the two counties were great in this respect. According to hypothesis 2, a competitive type structure, where one group tended to hold a dominant position of power, was predicted. The Old Guard, although very powerful, did not hold a position of dominance. Thus hypothesis 2 was not upheld in the case of River County. No one group dominated decision-making in the county. The differences in the power structures between the high-effort and low-effort districts were vast.

The competitive power structure in River County, the high-effort district, was dramatically different from the economic monopoly that ruled Beach County. No group dominated all decisions in River County, whereas the ruling economic dominants of Beach County made every important decision on policy. Businessmen with a sprinkling of lawyers dominated the power structure in Beach County, whereas professionals were often important power wielders in River County. Elective public officials had much higher status in the power structure of River County than was true of Beach County. The superintendent of schools in River County was vastly more powerful than his counterpart in Beach County. These are just a few of the differences between the findings in River County and Beach County. A summary of findings will appear in the final chapter. The analysis of differences in the civic beliefs between segments of the power structure in the two counties will be presented in Chapter IV which follows.

CHAPTER IV

. . .

DIFFERENCES IN LIBERALISM AND CONSERVATISM BETWEEN SELECTED GROUPS IN THE TWO SCHOOL DISTRICTS

. . . . . .

The purpose of this chapter is to present findings related to the area of investigation reflected in hyoptheses 3, 4, and 5 of the project. Following the identification and description of social power and decision-making in the high-effort and low-effort school districts, the research effort was concentrated upon discovering the differences and similarities of beliefs held by various population strata within and between the selected school districts.

The design for the project included a study of differences in the operational beliefs to test hypotheses 3 and 4 which were stated as follows:

> Hypothesis 3. The top influentials in the school district exercising a low financial effort for education are more conservative than the top influentials in the high effort district.
>
> Hypothesis 4. The degree of influence of the leaders in the power structure is related to the degree of internal consistency of patterns of operational beliefs held by the leaders as determined by (a) the consistency of verbalized belief with action taken on issues and (b) the consistency of action and stated belief from one issue to another.

As discussed in Chapter I, the identification of operational beliefs was based upon a cross-validation of the actual behavior of the power wielders on critical issues. Therefore, the testing of hypothesis 3 was complicated by two unexpected findings. First, civic issues in Beach

County were not numerous enough for the best analysis of the operational beliefs of top influentials. The identification of operational beliefs, as explained in Chapter I, was based upon the analysis of significant civic issues. Secondly, although the Old Guard group in River County exercised greater influence on decisions than did any other group, no one group in River County dominated all decisions. The issues-interview technique was adapted to investigate leader behavior on significant projects in order to test hypothesis 3. The details of this analysis are described in the section immediately following.

Hypothesis 4 could not be tested in both counties because of the lack of issues necessary for a satisfactory evaluation of the consistency of leaders' beliefs in Beach County. The research effort, originally intended for the testing of hypothesis 4, was directed into an investigation of the civic beliefs held by various population samples in the two selected districts. The results of this effort are given in this chapter.

The Placement of Leaders on a Liberal-Conservative Continuum

This section describes the results of an analysis of the liberalism and conservatism of top influentials in the selected school districts. Their statements with regard to their action on civic issues and projects were used to determine the extent of conservatism and liberalism of the influentials.

Those leaders classified as top influentials (see Chapters II and III) in each county were selected for the analysis. Our evidence indicated that top influentials dominated the power structure in Beach County and certainly the top influentials in the power structure in River County had a significant impact upon decision-making. Thus five men from Beach County and nine leaders from River County were included in the study.

Since strongly contested civic issues were rare in the monopolistic power structure of Beach County, the projects of county-wide significance were also used as a basis for interviews. Also included for the same reason were two or three recurring state and national issues, such as federal aid to education and reapportionment of the legislature. A list of the civic issues and projects included for analysis in the districts appears as Appendix D.

Interviews were conducted with each top influential in each district to obtain the following data about each of the several proposals, projects, or issues which are briefly identified in Appendix D.

1. The top influential's description (perception) of the issue or project.

2. Any action taken by the top influential in supporting or opposing the project.

3. Why the leader said he took this stated position and action.

These interviews usually lasted from two to four hours with some continuing as long as six hours. Personal appointments were made with the top influential either at his home or office. He was given a sheet containing a list of the issues and projects. The issues causing the greatest controversy in the district were listed first. Twelve issues and projects were listed for the Beach County leaders. Twenty-one issues and projects were used in River County. Many of these interviews were recorded verbatim via tape recordings where it appeared completely satisfactory to the leaders. In other instances the statements were recorded by two persons who were able to reproduce most statements of the leaders verbatim. Thus, via the use of twelve issues and projects in Beach County and twenty-one issues and projects in River County, a large sample of data about leader behavior was obtained.

Extent of Liberalism and Conservatism of Each Leader on Each Project or Issue

One analysis of the data involved an assessment of the liberalism or conservatism of the leaders' statements about the projects and issues. The verbatim statements from each leader were submitted to fourteen judges, none of whom had knowledge of the intent or design of the project described herein. The judges were given the entire set of fourteen top influentials' statements and asked to rate each leader's statements for each issue as follows: (a) very conservative, (b) conservative, (c) neither conservative nor liberal, (d) liberal, (e) very liberal. A "box" was provided following each issue for the convenience of the judges in making their response and for writing any comments as shown in the following example of a leader's statement of the teachers' pay raise issue in Beach County:

> Issue 5: Teachers' Pay Raise--I believe that teachers and ministers are two of the most important occupational groups we have. However, persons who go into teaching should not expect to make much money. They should be dedicated persons and go into teaching with the idea in mind that they will not make much money at it. There is a limit to what the taxpaying public can pay to teachers. The schools are quickly reaching the point where we taxpayers will be unable to meet their demands. Our taxes are getting to be too great. The school board did not do right on their budget after the reassessment. I told the county commission they had made a grievous error in establishing the assessment rolls before the school board had brought the budget in and they knew what it was. People will not forget very fast when election time comes. I think the members of the county commission are good men and I will support them. They are entitled to one mistake, but I have a feeling this will have an effect on the individuals who are involved in the next election.

very conservative	conservative	neither conservative nor liberal	liberal	very liberal

COMMENTS:

Additional samples of leader statements are given in Appendix E in order to give the reader additional understanding of the extremities of positions embodied in the statements on issues.

The mean ratings of the fourteen judges on all projects and issues of each top influential in the two selected districts are presented in Table 13. The symbols to the left of the table refer to the counties and leaders included. For example, the first nine cases listed are for River County (R) and for leaders A through I. The next five cases are for leaders A through F in Beach County (B). In rare instances a leader declined to state his position with regard to a given issue. This was indicated by a "No Comment" response, or by his explanation that he was disassociated with the issue or project so as to render his position meaningless. In either of these conditions, the number of cases was reduced in computing the mean rating. Table 13 contains the following data:

1. The mean rating of each leader by each of fourteen judges on twenty-one issues and projects in River County and twelve issues and projects in Beach County.
2. The grand mean rating of all leaders in each county by each judge.
3. The grand mean rating of each leader by all judges.
4. The total grand mean ratings of all leaders by all judges.

An analysis of these data presents some significant findings:

TABLE 13

Conservatism-Liberalism Ratings for Each Top Influential

Leaders	Mean Ratings of Each Judge on Issues and Projects														Mean Rating of Each Leader
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
R-A	3.05	2.85	3.43	3.95	2.86	3.05	3.19	3.24	2.86	3.24	3.05	3.10	3.24	3.10	3.16
R-B	3.72	2.77	3.11	3.72	2.55	2.83	2.55	2.72	2.50	3.00	2.61	3.00	2.89	3.00	2.93
R-C	3.00	2.55	2.90	2.80	3.35	2.80	2.65	2.70	2.60	2.45	2.85	2.80	2.45	2.50	2.74
R-D	3.00	2.84	3.42	3.79	3.37	3.11	3.05	3.26	3.79	3.16	3.21	3.16	3.79	3.53	3.32
R-E	2.71	2.95	3.43	3.48	2.43	3.24	2.76	3.43	2.95	3.24	2.95	3.48	3.33	3.48	3.13
R-F	3.61	2.81	3.16	3.57	2.38	3.05	2.62	2.95	3.14	2.95	3.24	2.90	3.19	3.38	3.07
R-G	3.00	2.71	3.42	3.28	3.10	3.19	2.48	3.00	2.86	2.76	2.71	3.38	2.90	2.76	2.96
R-H	3.14	2.81	3.57	3.19	3.33	3.14	2.66	3.14	2.76	3.29	2.62	3.43	3.38	2.90	3.10
R-I	3.42	2.89	3.63	3.74	4.05	3.19	2.74	2.95	2.42	3.00	2.89	3.53	3.00	3.53	3.21
[illegible]	3.18	2.80	3.34	3.51	3.05	3.07	2.75	3.04	2.89	3.01	2.90	3.20	3.13	3.14	

Grand Mean River County 3.07

TABLE 13—Continued

Leaders	Mean Ratings of Each Judge on Issues and Projects														Mean Rating of Each Leader
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
B–A	2.91	2.16	2.66	2.58	2.33	2.42	2.66	2.67	2.42	1.92	2.33	3.08	2.50	2.25	2.49
B–B	2.55	2.63	2.63	3.09	2.18	2.82	2.45	2.64	2.64	2.64	2.09	2.82	2.73	2.91	2.63
B–C	2.66	2.66	3.16	2.33	2.66	2.66	2.91	3.00	2.50	2.67	2.92	2.67	2.33	3.08	2.73
B–D	2.72	2.72	2.82	2.36	2.36	2.64	2.82	2.64	2.73	2.82	2.82	2.55	2.27	2.64	2.64
B–F	2.10	2.30	2.20	1.60	1.80	2.40	1.80	2.50	2.30	2.10	2.10	1.90	2.40	2.40	2.14
	2.59	2.49	2.69	2.39	2.27	2.59	2.53	2.69	2.52	2.43	2.45	2.60	2.45	2.66	
											Grand Mean Beach County				2.53

1. The total grand mean for River County was 3.07, indicating that the position of the influentials on issues or projects was .07 scaled point above "neither conservative nor liberal" as rated by fourteen judges. River County, it may be recalled, was the higher financial effort school district.

2. By comparison, the total grand mean for Beach County was 2.53, or precisely between "conservative" and "neither conservative nor liberal."

3. The standard deviation of the means for River County was .16; for Beach County, .04.

4. The River County influential rated most conservative (R-C), and the Beach County influential rated most liberal (B-C) are at the same position on the continuum (2.74-2.73).

A t-test was used to estimate the significance of the differences between the means of the two groups of top influentials. The t-test applied gave a result which was significant beyond the .001 level.

Analysis of Statements to Measure Conservatism and Liberalism

The research staff attempted to use the top influentials' statements on issues and projects for the purpose of developing discrete belief statements to measure the extent of liberalism and conservatism among community leaders. If statements could be developed which measured the same extent of liberalism and conservatism, as was evident in the judgments given in Table 13 above, these statements might be helpful in improving instruments to measure political liberalism or conservatism among community leaders.

Three members of the research staff prepared discrete statements of beliefs based on what each leader stated about his position on each issue. These were interpretations of the persons preparing the statements with regard to what the influentials thought a leader "ought to do" on the projects and issues. A total of 304 such statements were prepared.

In some instances, as many as four statements were extracted from a leader's stated position on one issue. These statements were further reviewed, edited, then finally thought to be a valid expression of the leader's position. Three hundred and five statements were produced on individual slips of paper and mailed to five persons holding a doctoral degree for sorting into "very conservative," "conservative," "neither conservative nor liberal," "liberal," and "very liberal" categories. These were then scaled, 1 to 5, and statistically analyzed.

The mean rating of nine River County leaders was 3.02 as compared with five Beach County leaders with a mean rating of 2.55. The difference in the means was almost the same as reported in the section immediately above. The difference as estimated by t-test procedures was not significant at the .05 level.

The Civic Beliefs of Population Samples

The Florida Scale of Civic Beliefs (FSCB) was developed in the project for use in testing hypothesis 5. This scale, referred to as the FSCB in the following paragraphs, was designed to measure political liberalism and conservatism on a single continuum. Dr. Vynce A. Hines, who is coauthor of the scale, presented the theoretical bases and steps involved in the development of the FSCB in a paper presented at a meeting of the American Education Research Association. With Dr. Hines' permission, this paper, entitled "Development and Factor Analysis of a Scale of Liberalism-Conservatism," is presented in Appendix F. The reader is invited to read this paper in order to obtain an understanding of the FSCB. A copy of the

FSCB appears as Appendix G. It is a 60-item scale with a total possible conservative score of 60 and a possible liberal score of 300.

Since unexpected complications developed in the testing of hypothesis 4, the design of the project was altered in order to make greater use of the FSCB. As the power studies progressed, a number of important questions emerged in addition to the question involved in testing hypothesis 5. Are the top influentials in the power structure of Beach County more conservative or more liberal, as measured by the FSCB, than the top influentials in the power structure in River County? How do the civic beliefs of teachers compare with the beliefs of leaders in the power structure? Are the teachers of Beach County, the low-effort county, more conservative than the teachers in River County? A design for testing the relationship between financial effort and liberalism-conservatism for several population samples emerged from questions such as these. The design permitted the testing of over 70 comparisons among the different strata sampled.

The general hypothesis held by the staff for many of these comparisons was that civic beliefs as measured by the FSCB were related to financial effort in the two districts. Scores were obtained on the FSCB for the samples identified in Table 14.

Of some interest is the fact that the scale was administered to all leaders (lower influential, influential, and top influential) in the power structure in both school districts. Of these 72 power-connected persons, only one leader in Beach County declined to cooperate in completing the scale. This cooperation was unusually good in comparison with other samples in which more refusals were experienced.

TABLE 14

Description of the Samples Included in the Study of Civic Beliefs

Classification	Beach County	River County
Influentials in the Power Structure	14	15
Lower Influentials in the Power Structure	10	10
County Officials not Named as Influential	10	12
Total Population Sample	200	200*
White Population Sample	164	185*
Negro Population Sample	36	15*
School Principals (White)	9	19
Teachers (White)	100	100
Teachers (Negro)	25	21

*The total population sample was further broken into a white and a Negro sample for comparisons. Since the per cent of the Negro population in Beach County was more than twice that in River County, a larger representative sample of Negroes was drawn in Beach County.

The FSCB was administered in all instances through a personal interview. The person was contacted and the scale was usually completed in the presence of the interviewer or an appointment was made to complete the interview at a later time. In some instances the persons asked for additional time to complete the scale and return it to the interviewer at a later date.

The sample of influentials in the power structure (see Table 14) was obtained by selecting the fifteen men who were found in each county to wield the most influence from the analysis of reputational data and actual involvement in issues. One person, as noted above, refused to fill in the instrument, reducing the number to fourteen in Beach County.

The category of the lower influentials in the power structure was obtained by taking those ten leaders who were found to hold the least power among the influential leaders in the power structure. In Beach County the sample was obtained from the secondary list of leaders who were found to have some influence but who did not appear among the top fifteen influentials of the power structure. The lowest ten persons among the forty-two influential leaders in River County were selected for this stratum.

The sample of county officials was obtained by including officials holding significant county-wide offices (e.g., sheriff, tax assessor, school superintendent, member of board of education, county commissioner, county judge) who were not found in the top influential, influential or lower influential categories of the power structures.

Obtaining the population sample was a difficult task. A thorough examination was made of the literature and expert opinion on sampling was obtained. It was concluded that a random sample of the population of the school districts was impossible. Meredith (36, p. 25) cited some of the practical obstructions to a random sample procedure:

> It was not possible to make a strictly random sample within each precinct, as there was no list of persons or dwellings available.
>
> Any attempt to obtain a strictly random sample from a county or precinct would further have been made impossible by two other practical considerations: the fact that many residents were away for the summer, and the fact that a large number of residents did not choose to cooperate with the interviewers.
>
> A notable illustration of the former fact in River County was provided in that county's numerous trailer parks. It was not uncommon to find only a handful of people scattered among acres and

acres of vacant trailers. The latter fact occurred often enough in both counties to cast doubt upon the feasibility of using random sampling procedures during any season of the year, without incurring prohibitive costs in terms of time and money.

A representative sample of 200 citizens was obtained by the following steps. First, the total sample was apportioned among the precincts of the county according to each precinct's per cent of the total number of registered voters in the county. The purpose of this step was to assure that each district in the county was appropriately represented according to its per cent of the total. Secondly, the actual sample was obtained through a thorough inspection of each district to estimate the dwelling units most typical of the district. The interviewer, after selecting the houses representative of the area, administered the instrument to the residents through personal interviews. Information on the age, sex, race, and registration of voters aided in obtaining the sample representative of each precinct and of each school district.

The total sample was divided into white and Negro for an analysis of additional strata within the population samples. It was also possible to consider urban, rural, suburban, and other strata such as these in the analysis of the population samples.

The principals of all-white schools were included in the sample of principals.

A stratified random sample of teachers in white schools was drawn in each county. A list of all teachers of white schools was obtained and the teachers were divided into two strata, elementary and secondary. A table of random numbers was used to draw a proportional random sample of

100 white teachers from each county. This same procedure was followed to obtain the sample of Negro teachers.

The means and ranges of the scores of each strata included in the analysis are given in Table 15.

TABLE 15

Scores of Strata Samples on the Florida
Scale of Civic Beliefs

Sample Classification	River County Mean Score	Beach County Mean Score
Influentials in the Power Structure	163.60	131.07
Lower Influentials in the Power Structure	162.00	148.90
County Officials not Named as Influential	167.58	146.40
Total Population Sample	170.00	168.50
Negro Population Sample	197.70	206.70
White Population Sample	167.13	160.15
School Principals (White)	181.53	178.67
Teachers (White)	183.29	170.40
Teachers (Negro)	197.33	207.20

With the exception of the Negro population sample and the Negro teachers sample, the means for all comparable strata in Beach County are more conservative than the River County means. The scores of the influential leaders in the power structure in Beach County are near the "very conservative" range on the FSCB (60 to 120), whereas the mean score for this sample in River County is within the "moderately conservative" classification of 150 to 180. Six of the means are in the "moderately liberal" range on the FSCB of 180 to 210. None of the means reached the "very liberal" position of 240 and over. Within each county the Negro teachers' sample mean and the Negro population sample mean are nearly identical. However, our main concern in this study was to determine the statistical significance of any differences found between the samples. This analysis follows.

Comparison of the Civic Beliefs between Citizens and Results of Data for Testing Hypothesis 5

Some difficulty was experienced in obtaining responses on the FSCB from persons having a very low level of education. The investigators had to read the statements to some of these citizens and record their oral answers to the items. This procedure was particularly frequent in the dwelling areas which were predominately Negro. In a few cases several statements had to be interpreted for the respondents. Whether the FSCB should be used with persons having a very low level of education is subject to question. More experience with the scale is necessary before this question can be answered.

The comparison of the scores for the representative samples of the populations of the districts is given below. The significance of the difference between the variances in the population samples was estimated by F-test procedures. The result of the F test is given under the S^2

column. The F test indicated that the variance of the responses in Beach County was significantly greater at the .05 level. The t-test was used to estimate the significance of the difference between the sample means. The difference between the sample means was not significant at the .05 level. Both means were in the moderately conservative range.

	N	$\overline{X}$	s^2
Beach County Population Sample	200	168.5	865
River County Population Sample	200	170.0	598.7

The population samples were further divided into Negro and white for the purpose of additional comparisons. The results of the t-test showed that the Negro respondents were significantly more liberal than the white population in River County at the .05 level. The F-test indicated that the Negro citizens were significantly less variable (see below).

	N	$\overline{X}$	s^2
White Population Sample, River County	185	167.8	635.8
Negro Population Sample, River County	15	197.7	140.9

The results of the white and Negro population samples for Beach County are shown below. The Negro sample was significantly less variable than the white sample in Beach County at the .05 level. The Beach County

Negro population sample was also significantly more liberal than the white population sample.

	N	$\bar{X}$	s^2
White Population Sample, Beach County	164	160.2	980.5
Negro Population Sample, Beach County	36	206.7	338.9

Hypothesis 5 for the study was stated as follows: The verbalized beliefs of the top influentials in the power structure on a liberal-conservative continuum are similar to the beliefs verbalized by a majority of residents representative of the school districts studied.

The mean scores on the FSCB of the influentials in the power structure and the population sample in Beach County are shown below. The t-test indicated that there was a difference between the means of the samples at the .05 level. There was no significant difference in the variances.

	N	$\bar{X}$	s^2
Influentials in the Power Structure (Beach County)	14	131.07	952.83
Beach County Population Sample	200	168.50	865.00

The same analysis was completed for River County. The means of the samples in River County are given below. The difference between the means was not significant at the .05 level. Through F-test procedures the River

County influentials were found to be significantly more variable than the population sample in their county.

	N	$\bar{X}$	s^2
Influentials in the Power Structure (River County)	15	163.60	1,270.97
River County Population Sample	200	170.00	598.70

Thus hypothesis 5 was not supported by the data in either county. The Beach County influentials were more conservative than the citizens in their county. The River County citizens were less variable than the River County influentials.

The Negro population samples in both school districts were significantly more liberal at the .05 level than the white population samples. There was no significant difference between the total representative samples of the two districts. The fact that Negroes did not hold top official positions or appear in the most influential positions of the power structures indicated that Negro and white samples in these two counties should be treated as separate parameters. This is further supported by the fact that the scores of the Negro population and Negro teacher samples, while almost identical in each county, were more liberal than the white population and white teacher samples. It appears that the Negro samples suggest a more homogenous and less stratified background than the white samples. Consequently, in the following section the white population sample is used in the analysis as the basis for comparing the beliefs of citizens with the beliefs of other strata in the power structure.

Comparison of Civic Liberalism and Conservatism between Samples from the Power Structure, Public Officials, Teachers, and School Administrators

The purpose of this section is to consider the possible differences in civic liberalism and conservatism between certain samples in the two selected districts other than the differences between the population strata considered in the above section. We were particularly interested in comparing the beliefs of certain strata in the school districts with several different levels of influence within the power structures of the selected districts. Since no Negroes were influential in the power structure or held county offices, the Negro population samples and Negro teacher samples were not included in this analysis. Nunn (42), in his descriptive study, considered over 60 possible comparisons between the samples. It is of considerable significance that, in all comparisons where a significant difference was found between the samples of Beach County and River County, the Beach County sample was the more conservative. Before reviewing the analysis of comparisons between the districts, the discussion will proceed with the results of comparisons of samples within each selected school district.

The Beach County Samples

A t-test was used to estimate the significance of the differences among the samples considered in Beach County. The samples considered were described in the discussion of Table 15 in the above section. Table 16 presents a summary of the results of the t-test for the comparisons of the different samples in Beach County. The differences, where significant, between the samples are explained below:

1. The Beach County influentials in the power structure were more conservative than the Beach County white population, principal, and teacher samples. This difference was at the .01 level as indicated in Table 16.

2. The Beach County lower influentials in the power structure were more conservative than the Beach County principals sample at the .05 level.

3. The sample of Beach County officials not named as influential was significantly more conservative than the Beach County white population, principal, and teacher samples. The levels of significance of these differences are shown in Table 16.

4. The Beach County white population sample was significantly more conservative than the Beach County white teachers at the .05 level.

No significant differences in civic beliefs were found between the influentials in the power structure, lower influentials in the power structure, and county officials who were not named as influential in the power structure. Differences among the lower influentials, county officials, white population, and white teacher samples were not significant. Furthermore, the difference between the means of principals and teachers was not significant.

The River County Samples

Table 17 shows the significance of the differences between the means on the FSCB for the samples in River County. There were fewer significant differences between the samples in River County than were found in Beach County. The differences were as follows:

TABLE 16

Significance of Differences between the Mean Scores of Beach County Samples

	Influentials in Power Structure	Lower Influentials in Power Structure	County Officials Not Named as Influential	White Population Sample	Principals (White)
Influentials in Power Structure					
Lower Influentials in Power Structure	0				
County Officials Not Named as Influential	0	0			
White Population Sample	.01	0	.05		
Principals (White)	.01	.05	.01	0	
Teachers (White)	.01	0	.05	.05	0

Legend: 0—No significant difference at the .05 level.
.05—Significant difference at the .05 level.
.01—Significant difference at the .01 level.

1. The influentials in the power structure of River County were significantly more conservative than the River County white teachers at the .05 level.

2. The lower influentials in the power structure in River County were also more conservative than the white teachers at the .05 level.

3. The white population sample of River County was more conservative than the River County white principal and teacher samples at the levels of significance shown in Table 17.

All other comparisons, as shown in Table 17, did not reveal signigicant differences between the sample means.

Differences in the Samples between the Two Counties

The purpose of this section is to consider the significance of the differences in the sample variables between the two counties. The results of the t-tests to estimate the differences between the Beach County samples and River County samples are shown in Table 18. In this instance it is not necessary to explain the directions of the differences in each case. In reading Table 18, the Beach County samples scored the more conservative in each comparison in which a significant difference was found.

Some of the differences shown in Table 18 may be due to chance. However, the high incidence of significant differences and the fact that the Beach County samples were more conservative in each case of significant differences lead one to suspect that civic liberalism or conservatism was one of the possible factors contributing to the difference in effort between the two selected school districts.

The most influential power wielders in Beach County were more conservative than the River County influentials, lower influentials, county officials not named as influential, white citizenry, principals, and white

TABLE 17

Significance of Differences between the Mean Scores of River County Samples

	Influentials in Power Structure	Lower Influentials in Power Structure	County Officials Not in Power Structure	White Population Sample	Principals (White)
Influentials in Power Structure					
Lower Influentials in Power Structure	0				
County Officials Not Named as Influential	0	0			
White Population Sample	0	0	0		
Principals (White)	0	0	0	.05	
Teachers (White)	.05	.05	0	.01	0

Legend: 0--No significant difference at the .05 level.
.05--Significant difference at the .05 level.
.01--Significant difference at the .01 level.

TABLE 18

Significance of Differences between the Mean Scores of
Beach and River County Groups

Beach County	River County Influentials in Power Structure	 Lower Influentials in Power Structure	 County Officials Not Named As Influential	 White Population Sample	 Principals (White)	 Teachers (White)
Influentials in Power Structure	.05	.05	.05	.01	.01	.01
Lower Influentials in Power Structure	0	0	0	.05	.01	.01
County Officials Not Named as Influential	0	0	0	.01	.01	.01
White Population Sample	0	0	0	.05	.01	.01
Principals (White)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Teachers (White)	0	0	0	0	0	.01

Legend: 0--No significant difference at the .05 level.
.05--Significant difference at the .05 level.
.01--Significant difference at the .01 level.

teachers. Although not reflected in Table 18, this finding can be generalized for both white and Negro citizens and teachers. In fact, the top influentials in the power structure of Beach County, the low-effort district, were more conservative than the population sample, principals, and teachers of their own county. Thus, the men who ruled Beach County held civic beliefs which were unlike all samples considered with the exception of the samples of public officials and lower influentials in Beach County.

The fact that the sample of white teachers of Beach County was more conservative than the sample of white teachers in River County at the .01 level is of some interest to educators. Also of some interest is the fact that, although the Beach County white population sample was more liberal than the power wielders, the Beach County white population sample was more conservative than the River County white population sample at the .05 level.

The Relationship of FSCB Scores and Leader Ratings on Issues and Projects

Correlation coefficients were computed between the leaders' scores on the Florida Scale of Civic Beliefs and their ratings by the fourteen judges given in Table 13. The correlation coefficient was .68 for the combined counties. This correlation coefficient indicates that the leaders may have reacted differently to a "paper and pencil" test than to actual issues or projects in which they had been involved. This is supported by the fact that the difference between the means of the judges' ratings of the top influentials of River County and Beach County (see Table 13) was beyond the .001 level, whereas the difference between the means was at the .05 level on FSCB scores.

In reacting to items on the Florida Scale of Civic Beliefs, a leader may have made his decisions quite remote from the local scene. His decisions may be influenced by a general feeling he has for state or national issues. But when faced with the issue on the local level which entails his involvement through primary relationships, personality conflicts, reputational factors, and allegiances, he may be less likely to act consistently with his self-rated beliefs. The Florida Scale of Civic Beliefs (or any similar instrument) may have afforded him some shield of anonymity behind which he can be the kind of leader he may wish to be. When confronted with a "real-life" issue, he meets a moment of truth and may vacillate when facing personal consequences that are of the moment.

The facts in both instances point toward the same conclusion. The scores on the FSCB and the judges' ratings were quite consistent in that the Beach County top influentials were significantly more conservative by both measures. Thus it appears that the FSCB may be a valid and less cumbersome instrument to use in replications of this investigation for other districts.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Certain critical elements of the community power systems for two selected school districts were investigated in this project. These school districts had similar social climate indexes as developed by Gentry (21), but differed widely in local financial effort to support education. The purpose of this chapter is to report the conclusions about the general hypotheses as originally stated for investigation and to present conclusions about the differences between the power structures in the selected districts.

Conclusions on the Structure of Power

Two hypotheses were stated about the structure of power and the decision-making process in the selected districts as follows:

1. The power to resolve community educational issues (establish basic educational policies) rests with relatively few persons who enjoy positions of great influence in informal power groups of the school districts selected for study.

2. The top influential leaders in the dominant power group in each school district exercise power through lower level leaders who are in position to influence the formal decision-making structure.

Data which were discussed in Chapter II supported these hypotheses in Beach County, the low financial-effort district. The institutions in Beach County were subjected to the economic domination of a monopolistic power structure. Educational policies were sanctioned by an astonishingly small number of power wielders--none of whom held official position in the school system. The public school officials in Beach County occupied a relatively low power status. Informal exercise of power sanctions upon significant educational decisions was usually cloaked within the democratic rituals of a committee chaired by one of the top influentials in the power structure. Top influentials in the power structure held effective control over county and city officials. Data presented in Chapter IV sh[illegible]at no statistically significant difference in civic beliefs existed between the top influentials in the power structure, lower influentials in the power structure, and county officials not influential in the power structure. Since this agreement in civic beliefs was not manifested in the comparison of the top influentials with other population strata in the county, this further substantiated the solidarity of the men who ran Beach County.

Conclusions regarding hypotheses 1 and 2 were not so clear-cut in the case of River County, the higher financial-effort school district. As discussed in Chapter III, the data support the prediction stated in hypothesis 1, that a relatively few top influentials occupied strong positions of influence over educational policies. The masses of citizens exercised relatively little influence in comparison to these men. The importance of informal power groups and informal leadership activity upon educational policies was highlighted by the findings. However, one of the most influential power groups in River County was a formal group: namely, the Republican Party. Although the findings in River County did not entirely fit the patterns of power predicted as did the findings in Beach County, hypothesis 1 was accepted.

Hypothesis 2, which predicted that one power group would hold a dominant position, was not supported by the data collected in River County. The power structure in River County was competitive in nature. No group dominated all decisions. Relative to the total population, a small number of power wielders ran each of the groups making up the competitive power structure. The Old Guard group exercised a higher degree of influence than other groups in the power structure. The school superintendent held a top influential status in the power structure and enjoyed excellent rapport with some of the top influentials in the Old Guard. In issues wherein the superintendent of schools obtained the active support of top influentials in the Old Guard and Crosby Democrat groups, the superintendent was usually successful in promoting an educational improvement project. However, competition between leaders for the right of decision was present, including the election of members to the River County Board of Education. No one group in the power structure held a position of complete dominance over educational policies. Hypothesis 2 was rejected in the case of River County.

Apparently the power structure in River County had been monopolistic until about eight to ten years prior to the study. Probably as a result of the rapid population growth, which resulted in the emergence of new power groups and a two party system, and the splintering of a once solidary monopolistic power structure into different factions, a redistribution of power had been accomplished in the county. Seven different power groups were identified. However, these groups were not fragmented as Dahl (13) described the pluralism in New Haven. Important informal interaction ties existed among the top influentials of different groups.

Overlapping memberships among different groups were common, producing considerable fluidity of leader movement in groups. The top influentials tended to become active in several different issues and projects instead of confining their activity to one institutional sector. An air of regime conflict, as described by Kammerer and associates (29), was manifest in some issues. Not all projects resulted in issues between the top influentials. Cooperation between the leaders of the different groups was present in several of the important projects. Thus the behavior of top influentials in the River County power structure varied from cooperation to strong competition. On the whole, an air of competition usually prevailed as a result of the struggle for power among the different power groups.

Power in River County was not confined to complete economic domination as was evident in Beach County. Retirees, professionals, and public officials were represented in the upper limits of power in River County. The fact that the superintendent of schools was among the nine most powerful men in the power structure of River County is of great significance for educators. As mentioned previously, the exercise of power in decisions was largely informal. In several projects investigated, committees were appointed and meetings were held as democratic rituals in attempts to accomplish what top influentials had previously decided. Wellman's (56) analysis, as discussed in Chapter III, indicated the great importance of the informal interaction network in achieving leader support for projects. The River County power structure was less dominated by any one institutional sector in decision-making than its counterpart in Beach County.

In summary, hypothesis I was accepted for Beach County and accepted with some reservations for River County. Hypothesis 2 was rejected for River County and accepted for Beach County.

Differences between the Power Systems of Beach County and River County

In reality, until this study had been completed, we did not know how to ask the significant questions. The answers concerning hypotheses, as originally stated, appear of much less importance than the differences in characteristics of the power structure between the two districts. Thus we shall proceed at this time with some summary conclusions about differences in the power structures of the school districts.

Power in River County, the higher-effort district, was exercised through a multistructured, competitive power structure, whereas the power structure in Beach County was monopolistic (monolithic) and largely dominated by five men.

The power structure in Beach County was entirely dominated by economic interests (businessmen); professionals, retirees, and businessmen held high power status in the River County power structure.

Local public officials held higher power status in River County than in Beach County.

The superintendent of schools in River County was one of the nine most powerful men in the county, whereas the school superintendent in Beach County failed to be nominated by informants as influential.

Fewer leaders exercised a top influential role in the power structure in Beach County than in River County.

The power structure in Beach County had a more definitely formed hierarchy, whereas only the Old Guard group in River County had a well defined power hierarchy. Less differentiation in power roles among the leaders was manifested in most groups in River County.

The power system in River County was more open to the emergence of new leaders to positions of power than the Beach County power system. Almost half of the leaders in River County had resided in the county sixteen years or less, whereas only one leader fitted this category in Beach County. A large majority of the leaders in the Beach County power structure had resided in the county fifty years or more.

Citizen participation, as measured by voter registrations and voting in local elections, was considerably less in Beach County than in River County. Beach County was for the most part a one-party county. River County had two strong political parties.

The rate of population increase in River County was almost five times greater than the rate for Beach County.

Fewer significant civic issues were manifested in Beach County as compared with River County where issues were commonplace.

Informal leadership activity, as a basis for deciding important policy questions, was an important pattern in both counties. This was accompanied by numerous forms of democratic rituals, such as the appointing of committees, legislative hearings, and community meetings.

The Beliefs of Leaders, Citizens, Teachers, and School Principals

The project design initially included the testing of hypotheses 3, 4, and 5 stated as follows:

3. The top influentials in the school district exercising a low financial effort for education are more conservative than the top influentials in the high-effort district.

4. The degree of influence of leaders in the power structure is related to the degree of internal consistency of patterns of operational beliefs held by leaders as determined by: (a) consistency of verbalized belief with action taken on issues and (b) consistency of action and stated belief from one issue to another.

5. The verbalized beliefs of the top influentials in the power structure on a liberal-conservative continuum are similar to the beliefs verbalized by a majority of residents representative of the counties studied.

As explained in Chapter IV, some difficulties were experienced in using the issues-interview technique to test hypotheses 3 and 4. Use of the technique was predicated upon the hypothesis of a competitive type power structure which would generate numerous civic issues. The economic domination in Beach County did not produce a sufficient number of civic issues for use in the analysis. Hypothesis 4 could not be tested in Beach County and was abandoned in order to concentrate upon the more promising analysis of civic beliefs of various population strata in the two districts. By using leader statements on civic projects which did not result in strongly contested civic issues, data were obtained for testing hypothesis 3.

Development of a Scale to Measure Civic Liberalism and Conservatism

An instrument known as the Florida Scale of Civic Beliefs (FSCB) was developed in the study for use in the testing of hypothesis 5. Data about the development of this scale are given in the paper by Hines (25) in Appendix F. Starting with 121 items which were presumed to represent tenets of classical liberalism, new liberalism, and conservatism, a 60-item scale was developed. Each of two reliability tests indicated a reliability of .90. A factor analysis of the scale indicated the sixty items on the scale were loaded highly on a single dimension. These loadings are given in Appendix F. Therefore, this appeared to be a particularly promising instrument for measuring civic conservatism and liberalism for other samples in addition to those necessary to test hypothesis 5.

Conclusions about Hypotheses 3 and 5

Hypothesis 3 was supported by data collected in two separate procedures. The most intensive procedure involved an analysis of leader position on projects and issues. A list of issues and projects of county-wide significance was prepared for each district. Some national and state projects, identified in Appendix D, were also included. Verbatim statements were collected from each top influential in each school district concerning why he took action on each project or issue listed for his school district. The five top influentials from Beach County and the nine top influentials from River County were included in this analysis. As described in Chapter IV, the Beach County top influentials were more conservative than the River County top influentials. The difference between the mean ratings of the two groups of top influentials was statistically significant at the .001 level.

The FSCB was administered to the fifteen most influential leaders in the power structure of River County and fourteen of the most influential power wielders in Beach County. The Beach County influentials made more conservative scores on the FSCB than the River County influentials. The difference was significant at the .05 level. These data further supported the acceptance of hypothesis 3. Therefore, hypothesis 3 was accepted as stated.

Hypothesis 5 was tested by administering the FSCB to a representative sample of the citizens in each selected school district, the fourteen most influential leaders in Beach County, and the fifteen most influential leaders in River County. The results of this investigation failed to support hypothesis 5. The mean score of the Beach County influentials was significantly more conservative than the Beach County population sample at the .05 level. The River County influentials were significantly more variable than the River County citizens. Therefore, hypothesis 5 was rejected.

The Civic Beliefs of Other Samples from the Districts

The successful development of the FSCB provided opportunity for the examination of other hypotheses in the study. Thus the measurement of civic beliefs was extended to other samples. The FSCB was administered to nine different samples in the two districts which were described in Chapter IV. Cross comparisons were accomplished between the scores of these different samples within and between the selected school districts.

The FSCB was administered to each of these samples through an interview with each respondent. Mean scores for all samples were given in Table 15 in Chapter IV.

Examination of the raw scores for each sample revealed that the influentials in the power structure for Beach County made the most conservative score of any sample in either county. In fact, with the exception of the Negro teachers' sample and Negro population sample from Beach County, all of the Beach County samples were more conservative than the River County samples. As discussed earlier, the Negro teachers' sample was almost identical to the Negro population sample within each district. This was not true of the white samples. This suggests that the Negro population in each district was less stratified than the white population. There was a difference of over 30 points between the means of the influentials in the power structure in the two districts. The means of the Negro samples were within the "moderately liberal" range (180-210). The River County teachers and River County white principals had means within the "moderately liberal" (180-210) range. The Negro population sample and Negro teachers' sample in Beach County were near the "liberal" range (210-240), whereas the Beach County influentials were near the "very conservative" range (60-120). None of the means was in the "very liberal" position on the scale (240-300). Nine of the sixteen sample means fell within the "moderately conservative" position varying from 150 to 180.

Differences in Population Samples in the School Districts

An examination of the population samples was given above in the examination of hypothesis 5 for the study. The statistical significance of the difference between the means of the samples on the FSCB was estimated by t-test procedures.

There was no statistically significant difference between the means of the total representative sample of 200 citizens drawn from the school districts. F-test procedures indicated a significant difference in the variance between the two samples. When the total samples were divided into white population samples and Negro population samples, some interesting differences were noted as follows:

1. Differences between the means of the Negro samples from the two districts were not statistically significant.

2. Differences between the means for the Negro and white population samples were significant within each selected school district.

3. A significant difference was found in the means of the white population samples between the selected school districts.

Thus it appeared that the Negro and white samples should be treated separately. No Negroes appeared as influential in the power structure or as county officials in either county. Other power studies in racially segregated communities, such as Hunter's (26), indicated that there is a separate power structure for Negroes. This appeared to be true for the school districts in this study. As noted above, the civic beliefs of the Negro samples were characteristically less variable and more liberal than the white samples. For these reasons most of the samples were drawn from strata which presumably were tied to the white power structure which was more powerful than the Negro leaders.

Significance of the Differences between Samples in Beach County

Analyses of differences among the mean scores on the FSCB of several samples in Beach County were examined by t-test procedures. These were reviewed in detail and summarized in Table 16 in Chapter IV. Samples included were (a) influentials in the power structure; (b) lower influentials in the power structure; (c) county officials not named as influential in the power structure; (d) representative sample of white citizens; (e) all principals of white schools; and (f) a stratified random sample of white teachers. The following statistically significant differences between these samples in Beach County were noted:

1. The influentials in the power structure were more conservative than the white population sample, white principals, and white teachers at the .01 level.

2. County officials not influential in the power structure were more conservative than the white population sample, white principals, and white teachers.

3. The white population sample was more conservative than the white teachers at the .05 level.

Considerable significance may be noted of instances in which statistically significant differences betwe , the mean scores were not found. This was especially noticeable in the cases of the influentials in the power structure, lower influentials in the power structure, and county officials not influential in the power structure. The fact that the means for these three samples, while not significantly different from each other, were significantly different from several of the other samples indicates close agreement in civic beliefs among those men who ran Beach County.

Differences between FSCB Scores for Samples in River County

An examination of differences in the FSCB mean scores for the samples identified in the immediately preceding section was completed for River County. These were summarized in Table 17 in Chapter IV. There were half the number of instances in which statistically significant differences between the means for samples appeared in River County in comparison to Beach County.

The white teachers' sample mean was significantly less conservative than influentials in the power structure, and the white population sample in River County. The white population sample was more conservative than the principals in River County.

Comparison of the Sample Means between the Two Counties

The main objective of this phase of the research was to compare the differences in civic beliefs of the samples between the two counties.

The results of t-test procedures to estimate the differences between most of the River County and Beach County samples were presented in the discussion of Table 18 in Chapter IV. The findings were revealing because, in each instance in which a significant difference appeared between the samples, the Beach County sample was more conservative. Some of the significant differences were as follows:

1. The influentials in the power structure of Beach County were significantly more conservative than all samples considered in River County, including the total population sample, white population sample, and the Negro population sample.

2. The lower influentials in the power structure of Beach County were more conservative than the white population sample, white principals, and white teachers in River County.

3. The county officials not named as influential in Beach County were more conservative than the River County white population, principal, and teacher samples.

4. The white population sample in Beach County was more conservative than the white population, principal, and teacher samples in River County.

5. The white teachers' sample in Beach County was significantly more conservative than the River County white teachers' sample.

Ten of the sixteen instances, in which significant differences were found, were at the .01 level. All others were at the .05 level.

Conclusions about Civic Beliefs of Different Population Strata

The extended phase of the investigation of the civic beliefs included several strata which presumably could be important in the educational decision-making process for the two school districts. With the possible exception of the samples of citizens, teachers, and principals, these samples included the central nervous system of power in the selected school districts.

The hypothesis was that those men who ran Beach County, the low-effort county, would be more conservative in civic beliefs than the men who ran River County. The samples examined included many more persons in the power structure than the fourteen top influentials included in the examination of hypothesis 3 which was presented earlier. The data clearly indicated that the hypothesis could be accepted. The men who ran Beach County were more conservative in their response to the Florida Scale of Civic Beliefs than the men who ran River County.

Hypothesis 5 was rejected. The top influentials in the power structure in Beach County were unlike any sample tested, including the citizens. Thus men of power may hold political positions different from the groups which they lead, especially in a power system characterized by an economic domination.

Owing to the particular interest in educational policies, a sample of teachers and principals was included. This was purely exploratory. The staff was unprepared for the finding that teachers in Beach County were more conservative than teachers in the higher effort district. Furthermore, we anticipated that teacher responses would be more liberal than they were. Actually the teacher responses were not significantly different from the citizens within their school districts.

Some Final Observations

This project has emphasized description. Only two school districts were included in this description at one point in time. Therefore, the purpose herein was to describe rather than to prescribe. No causative relationships between community power structure and financial effort for all school districts have been inferred nor are they intended in these final comments. However, some of the elements of the community power systems explored should not be overlooked in future research aimed at explaining differences in educational policies between school districts. Certain of these findings should be of immediate interest to those persons providing leadership in educational improvement projects. As a former colleague commented with regard to implications from this project, we do not have to perform an operation on all Martians when we arrive on Mars in order to determine whether they have stomachs.

It appears, for example, that we need not exercise hesitancy in accepting the hypothesis that community power systems affected educational policy in the two school districts studied. This may indeed be generalized for other districts. Furthermore, it is possible for men of power to hold civic beliefs distinctly different from persons representative of the general population. But this does not mean that we can generalize the specific findings to other districts. Such an attempt is almost sure to result in misconceptions and inaccuracies.

For instance, it could possibly be erroneous to assume that all school districts with a monopolistic power structure are low-effort districts and all high-effort districts have pluralistic power structures. Neither could we assume from these data that the power wielders of all high financial effort districts were more liberal in their civic beliefs than leaders in the power structure of low-effort districts. These are plausible hypotheses to be sure at this point--not operating assumptions. As reflected in this report, the power systems of school districts are affected by a multiplicity of variables any one of which could affect school fiscal policy.

The implications of this project for follow-up investigations are clearly manifested. Two school districts were selected for study which were matched on the basis of certain socioeconomic factors associated with financial effort. The difference in actual local financial effort between these two districts was greater than one and one-half standard deviations. Procedures were designed to probe hypothesized elements of the central nervous system for decision-making in the selected school districts. Identical procedures and instruments were used in the analysis of both districts. Few instances were found in which the hypothesized elements of the decision-making structure were similar. Vast differences were found in most elements examined.

The actual power structures in the selected school districts were vastly different. Several samples of strata hypothesized to be near the nerve center of the two power structures were selected for an intensive study of civic liberalism and conservatism. It was concluded that those samples nearest the center of power activity in the low-financial effort district were significantly more conservative than the same samples drawn from the higher-effort district. Since the differences found between the various power system elements of the selected districts were presented earlier in this chapter, they are not discussed here.

In summary, it was concluded that follow-up studies should be conducted of the elements of community power systems that were critically different between the selected districts in this study. Perhaps the truly significant point was made earlier in this chapter when it was asserted that we did not know how to ask the significant questions prior to the completion of the project. This was neither due to our ignorance of studies then available nor lack of experience in conducting such research. Members of the staff had conducted such studies and searched the literature. In effect we had, by the very design for this study, asked a very significant question: What are the relationships between community power structure and school fiscal policy? Because this study was made,we are now at the point of asking questions about the relationship between local financial effort and elements of the community power system. The Cooperative Research Branch of the U.S. Office of Education has recently awarded a grant, with Dr. R. L. Johns and the writer as co-directors, to test some of these relationships in various local school districts in four states.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE A

As a part of our work at the University of Florida, we are making a study of leadership in this county. To do this, some information is needed from a number of people like yourself who are actively informed about their county's affairs. All information given will be kept confidential. True names will not be used nor will your personal opinions be revealed to anyone else. We need your frank opinions about county affairs and leadership. Your knowledge of the county will be of great help to us in our work.

******

What, in your personal opinion, are the most important issues (or problems or projects) of general concern that have been resolved within the past several years, or may have to be decided in the near future in this county?

It is thought that some persons are more influential than others on county-wide issues. What persons have the most influence or leadership on such issues as you have mentioned regardless of whether you agree with them?

NAME	COMMENT

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE B

RIVER COUNTY LEADERSHIP STUDY

As a part of our field work at the University of Florida, we are making a study of leadership in several representative Florida counties such as this one. To do this, some information is needed from a number of people like yourself who are actively informed about their county's affairs so that leadership activities can be summarized. Your views will be of great help in this study.

All information given individually will be kept confidential. True names are never used in the final analysis nor are your personal opinions revealed individually to anyone else, but is is necessary to ask you for your frank opinions about county affairs and the leadership that may have been involved.

---

*The original interview guide was on legal size paper, giving much more space for recording data than represented here. This reproduction does not include listed names of persons suggested as influential with issues and projects.

GENERAL INFORMATION

1) About how long have you lived in River County: All my life__________
No. of years__________ If not all of your life, where did you move from most recently?__________________________

2) Do you have any children? YES______ NO______ Ages of Children________
Schools now attended by children: Elementary______ High School________
College________ Public Schools ________ Private Schools (name)________

3) What amount of regular schooling have you completed?
Grades: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 College: 1 2 3 4
Graduate work____years

4) What organizations are you a member of?

__________________________ ____

__________________________ ____

__________________________ ____

__________________________ ____

5) Are you an officer or director of any of these organizations now? In the past? (Code: M-member; D-director; P, VP, S, T-officer) (Circle symbol if office was held in the past.)

6) What organizations have been most influential in solving county-wide problems? (Underline name of organization.) Why?

7) What other major official leadership positions have you previously held?

__________________________ ____

__________________________ ____

8) What other major official leadership positions do you now hold?

__________________________ ____

__________________________ ____

9) In this county about how many adult relatives do you have living outside your own household? ______________________________________

EXTENT OF INFLUENCE OF LEADERS

In every county some people have more influence in the affairs of the county than others. We would like the best judgement of people like yourself about the leadership you believe your fellow citizens are taking in county affairs.

We have talked to other persons in the county about leadership. They have given us a list of people whom they consider to be important on county-wide problems. We would like for you to consider this list of names for us. You may think of someone else to add to this list.

Preliminary List of Leaders	RANK	Strong County-wide Influence	Some County-wide Influence	Local Community Influence	Little Influence	Don't Know Person
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						
6.						
7.						
8.						
9.						
10.						
11.						
12.						
13.						
14.						
N						

1) By the use of these cards, would you please rank the persons with strong county-wide influence in order of their influence?

2) Which of the above persons do you feel you could count on most for support as your political friends if you were interested in putting across a county-wide project? (Circle number before name.)

3) Which of the above persons would be likely to cause you the most trouble in putting across a county-wide project? (Check number before name.) Why?

4) Which of these persons have influence with state leaders through whom they can get things done for the county? (Place an asterisk behind names in above list.) Examples.

LEADER ACTION ON ISSUES

We are interested in seeing how leaders work to solve problems. Would you give us your impression of the issues you see as important and the action you have observed leaders taking on those issues?

Problems Frequently Mentioned

A. School Millage Election
B. Property Reassessment
C. School Board Election
D. Zoning and Planning
E. Water-Sewerage Problems
F. Negro Housing
G. Road Issues
H. Increase in Teachers' Salaries
I. Etc., etc.
J.
K.

Names of Leaders

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9.
10.
11.
12.
13.
14.
15.

1) Which of these persons do you feel have the most reasonable opinions about countyissues? (Circle number next to name above.)

2) Do you consider any of the persons on the list as your "close friends?" (Check to left of names above.)

QUESTIONS

1) Have any organizations been very influential in solving county-wide problems?

2) Why is each of these persons influential?

3) What position did you take on each of these issues?

4) Which of these persons did you work closely with on each issue?

5) Who initiated action on each issue? How did they go about initiating action?

6) Who was opposed to the (specific name) issue? How did the opposition organize and oppose the project?

7) Did any organizations influence any of these issues? Which organizations? How? Why? Who led the fight for each organization involved?

Problems often come up which are critical to the county. Somebody has to take action to resolve these critical problems. Assuming you wanted action on one of these problems, what would you do? Whom would you contact?

In talking with you and other leaders we have noticed that groups of leaders with common interests tend to get together and have considerable weight in the solution of problems.

A. Whom do you associate with such groups?

B. How do they work to solve critical problems? (operating pattern)

C. Why do these groups have power?

D. Do these crowds stick together on a wide range of critical problems?

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW GUIDE C

ORGANIZATIONAL LEADERSHIP STUDY

As a part of our field work at the University of Florida, we are making a study of organizational leadership in several representative Florida counties such as this one. To do this, some information is needed from a number of people like yourself who are actively informed about their organization's affairs so that leadership activities can be summarized. Your views will be of great help in this study.

All information given individually will be kept confidential. True names are never used in the final analysis nor are your personal opinions revealed individually to anyone else, but it is necessary to ask you for your frank opinions about organizational affairs and the leadership that may have been involved.

GENERAL INFORMATION

1) About how long have you lived in ____________ County? No. of years __

2) Do you have any children? Yes __ No __ Ages of children ____________
Schools now attended by children: Elementary___ High School___ College___
Public Schools___ Private Schools (name) ____________

3) What amount of regular schooling have you completed?
Grades 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 College 1 2 3 4
Graduate work ____ years.

4) Present occupation ____________
Description of occupation ____________
Previous occupation ____________

5) Description of business ____________
Location of business ____________ No. of employees ______

6) Religion ____________ Church ____________

7) Political affiliation ____________
Description of political activity ____________

8) Number of relatives in the county _____ Names and occupations of relatives ____________

9) What organizations are you a member of? (member, officer?)

___ American Legion
___ Better Govt. Forums
___ Chamber of Commerce
___ Civitans
___ Committee of 100
___ Country Club
___ Democratic Party
___ Exchange Club
___ Historical Com.
___ Ind. Devl. Com.
___ Jaycees
___ Kiwanis
___ Lions
___ Fair Association
___ Masonic Lodge
___ Moose Lodge
___ P. T. A.
___ Republican Party
___ Rotary
___ Taxpayers' Association
___ Other _________ (name)

10) What major official leadership positions have you held?
(in government, business, or other organizations)

____________ ____________

____________ ____________

11) What major official leadership positions do you now hold?
(in government, business, or other organizations)

____________ ____________

____________ ____________

12) What important committees have you served on?

____________ ____________

EXTENT OF INFLUENCE OF LEADERS

There are probably some persons on your membership list who are more influential than others in deciding organizational activities and policies. That is, these persons may have much influence upon the opinions of other members with regard to what the organization should do. Who are some of the persons whom you have observed to have the greatest influence, regardless of whether you agree with them? Please rank these persons in the order of their relative influence.

Names of Leaders	Why are these persons influential?
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	
*N	

1) By the use of these cards, would you please rank the persons according to their influence?

2) With what other persons inside or outside the organization do the top leaders work most closely?

3) Do several of the above leaders form a group (or groups) within the organization? (*) Are these groups identified with interests outside the organization?

---

* At least 12 spaces were provided on the instrument which was duplicated on legal sized paper.

ORGANIZATIONAL PARTICIPATION IN COUNTY DECISIONS

What official action, if any, did your organization take on the following issues?*

Issue	Official Action	Initiated	Opposed	Committee
1. Reassessment				
2. School Millage				
3. Salary Increase for Teachers				

1) Who was the person that initiated action within the organization? Why?

2) Who opposed participation in the decision? Why?

3) Was a committee appointed? If so, who were the members of the committee?

4) Who provided the leadership, or did most of the leg work? Why? (left margin)

5) Was any unofficial action taken by members of the organization? Please explain.

Issues:

1. 3.

2. 4.

---

* All issues found to be of county-wide significance were listed on this page.

ORGANIZATIONAL PARTICIPATION IN COUNTY ISSUES (cont'd)

What other organizations favored or opposed the following issues?*

Issue	Favored	Opposed	Action Taken
1. Reassessment			
2. School Millage			
3. Salary Increase for Teachers			
N			

1) In your opinion have any of these organizations been particularly influential in the outcome of a community decision? Please explain.

2) How did the organization influence the issue?

3) Why did the organization take the stand it did? Who lead the attack?

4) Is any particular organization or type of organization most influential in your community?

---

* All issues found to be of county-wide significance were listed on this page.

FURTHER PARTICIPATION IN COUNTY ISSUES

1. Looking over these decisions again, why did the ____________________ (organization) not become officially involved with a number of the decisions?

2. Even though the ________________ is not involved officially in these decisions, do the members engage in informed discussion of such decisions? When do these discussions take place? Do they result in informal action? Does this action influence outcomes?

3. Have you observed that influential persons in the community can influence the organization on such issues? If so, what were such instances? How did they influence the decisions? Why?

4. Looking over this list of persons considered to be community leaders (to be supplied), would you describe any instances in which these men may have been instrumental in influencing the organization within the past three years? Please explain.

5. What place does the ________________ serve in the making of political decisions in the community?

6. Does the complexion and leadership within organizations change with the passing of time? Please explain.

APPENDIX D

ISSUES AND PROJECTS USED IN STUDYING THE LIBERALISM AND CONSERVATISM OF LEADERS

The issues, projects, and problems used to obtain leader statements are listed and briefly identified below. Most of these were obtained from interviews with county residents by the use of Interview Guide A and Interview Guide B (see Appendices A and B). Several state and national issues, such as federal aid to education, proposed federal tax cut, state taxes, and legislative reapportionment, were added in order to obtain leader reaction to issues not strictly local in nature.

Issues, Projects, and Problems in Beach County

Widening of Park Street. This issue was discussed in Chapter II. The reader is referred to this description of this particular issue.

Property Reassessment. This decision resulted in a complete reassessment of all property in Beach County by an outside tax assessment agency. Since this project was explained in Chapter II, no further explanation is needed.

Teachers' Salary Raise Issue. Teachers in Beach County requested a salary schedule increase. This resulted in an issue. The issue and the decision which resulted was described in Chapter II.

Constructing a Sewage System. Like many cities throughout the United States, Surf City in Beach County had met its sewage disposal problem by emptying raw sewage into a nearby river. The state health department recommended the building of a sewage treatment plant. To provide further incentive a manufacturing company had surveyed the Surf City area and found it a suitable location for a new plant in every respect except for the sewage disposal situation. Many citizens desired this industry to locate in Beach County. The sewage treatment system was built. There was some dissatisfaction and some argument over the best way to pay for the project.

Centennnial Celebration. This was a rather extensive project to celebrate the historical significance of Surf City in Beach County. Local, federal, and state governments were requested to participate in the celebration.

County Health Department. Beach County was one of the last counties in the state to initiate county health services. The physicians at the county hospital had formed a voluntary group to handle some of the services usually performed by local public health agencies. The establishment of public health services had been opposed by the man reputed to be most influential until recent years. Following his withdrawal of opposition a public health agency was established without issue.

Dover Hotel Purchase. The Dover Hotel, an old hotel in the heart of Surf City, was purchased by Beach County for additional county office space. Some discussion was heard that a new courthouse should be built. However, no organized opposition to the hotel purchase developed.

Industry vs. Tourism. Numerous persons voiced opinions about whether the Beach County area should continue to depend upon tourism and agriculture for economic support. Some persons predicted that attempts to lure industrial plants into Beach County would become an issue within a short time. There was a division of opinion on the question of whether to continue emphasis on tourism or to seek the establishment of industries.

State Reapportionment. The Supreme Court of the United States in a Tennessee case ruled that legislative apportionment must be on a fair and equitable basis. For years the legislature of Florida had been dominated by the rural interests. Seeing that reapportionment was inevitable, the legislature developed a plan of reapportionment designed to avoid court intervention. The legislature felt that the courts would reapportion the legislature if the legislature itself did not take action first. Most influentials in Beach County opposed state reapportionment as a serious encroachment by the federal government on state rights because it placed too much emphasis on mere population as a reason for representation. They generally felt that geography was just as important as population in determining the amount of representation a county should receive. Many of them favored one house being patterned on the lines of the United States Senate with each county having equal representation no matter what the population.

Expansion of State Taxes. Florida was one of the fastest growing states in the nation and this necessitated an increase in the state's budget. It was evident that the legislature had to take some action in the forthcoming session. One of the frequently mentioned means of increasing revenue was through the expansion of the state sales tax to include groceries and medicines, which were exempt at that time. Most influentials of Beach County favored expanding the sales tax to include groceries and medicine as the best means of raising the needed revenue.

Proposed Federal Tax Cut. The national administration had proposed a cut in federal taxes as a means of stimulating the economy. The influentials were asked what they thought of this proposal.

Federal Aid to Education. The influentials were asked to state their positions on the question of general massive federal aid for public elementary and secondary schools. Although this was not an issue or even a proposed project of the leaders in Beach County, it was felt that their statements about this national proposal would be useful.

Issues, Projects, and Problems in River County

Property Reassessment. This project was described in Chapter III. All property in River County was assessed at real value through a contract with an outside tax assessment agency.

School Millage Election. This issue involved the question of authority given the board of education to levy additional millage. A detailed discussion of the issue was presented in Chapter III.

Governmental Reorganization. This issue resulted from a proposal to incorporate six municipalities into one large city. The issue was discussed in detail in Chapter III.

Proposal to Increase Water Supply. A New York firm was engaged to make a report on the feasibility of building a dam across a river for future water needs. Although no action had been taken on the proposal, it was cited by numerous persons as an impending issue.

Government Housing. Some leaders proposed an increase in government housing to eliminate slum conditions in the urban areas of River County. Leader statements on this issue were discussed in Chapter III.

School Board Election Issues. Several election issues in River County involving members of the board of education were investigated. One of these election issues was discussed earlier in Chapter III.

Integration of Public Schools. Negroes applied for admission to a previously all white school. As described in Chapter III, the school was desegregated.

Planning and Zoning Ordinance. This issue was discussed in detail in Chapter III. It was initiated by a proposal of the River County Board of County Commissioners to establish a model planning and zoning ordinance.

Election of County Commissioners. The election of members to the River County Board of County Commissioners was vigorously contested in most instances. Two vigorously contested elections were listed for the reaction of leaders.

Roads and Bridges. Several separate issues had developed over proposed locations of roads and bridges. These were listed by name and the leaders were asked to comment upon any action they had taken on any of the issues.

Gubernatorial Election. Although a two party system existed in River County, the Democratic Party controlled state politics. Thus the democratic primaries were of special interest and usually split the Democratic Party in River County. A bitter fight between leaders in River County occurred in the primary for the 1960 gubernatorial election.

Building a Civic Auditorium. This issue arose over the proposal of city fathers in Sunshine City to build a civic auditorium. This issue was discussed in Chapter III.

Hospital Administration Problems. Several employees were released under unusual circumstances by the hospital administrator for the River County Memorial Hospital. The employees contested the action and there was much dissatisfaction expressed by leaders about the way the problem was handled.

Increased Budgets and Higher Taxes. Conservative members of the Board of County Commissioners made quite an issue of the spending policies of county government in 1962. This issue tended to center ultimately upon the budget submitted by the county sheriff.

Reorganization of the Chamber of Commerce. Four communities had separate Chambers of Commerce. Influentials in Sunshine City were successful in a project to combine all of these separate organizations into one Chamber of Commerce for the county.

Tourism vs. Industry vs. Agriculture. Whether the future economy of River County should emphasize agriculture, industry, or tourism was a recurring question among business leaders. A well-known research firm was hired to make an economic base study and make recommendations. The economic report resulted in considerable conflict among businessmen in River County. No official action was taken as a result of the economic base study.

State and Federal Issues and Projects. As was reported for Beach County in the above section, the leaders were asked to explain their positions on such state and federal projects and issues as follows: (a) expansion of state sales taxes; (b) reapportionment of the legislature; and (c) federal aid to education.

APPENDIX E

VERBATIM STATEMENTS MADE BY VARIOUS LEADERS REGARDING SELECTED ISSUES

Samples of the verbatim statements made by various top influentials for selected issues are presented below. These statements were selected to give the reader some understanding of the positions of the leaders on a few decisions.

Statements about Teachers' Pay Raise Decision in Beach County

Statement by Leader 1. We've got to pay adequate salaries. Teachers take the position that merit cannot be determined. We need to give some attention to this. Paying more money to the same teachers will not improve the quality of instruction. Teachers don't want to take tests. We did not submit this plan until the schools had refused to submit any plan. Quality is determined by the product turned out by the schools.

On this local raise, I investigated and I can't honestly say they are paid too much. I'd like to complain because of my high taxes but I really can't. Yet, $4,800 to $6,500 is not too much in view of what laborers make.

Statement of Leader 2. I had nothing to do with the pay raise of the salary schedule. I think it's too high. I checked out the salary schedule with that of other counties (the eight closest to us in size and proximity). We're right in line and I showed people this--also, the county commission. I don't think teachers are being fairly treated. I think we have an excellent county system--one of the best in the state. I've checked this. I made a study of the financial situation.

Statement by Leader 3. I know that the school system 1-12 and the colleges is the basis of our country. But the people in the schools have no conception of where money comes from. If we had a money machine running money off 24 hours a day, it wouldn't be enough to satisfy those universities. Those professors have no responsibilities. Teaching classes is no strain once they've done it once. Professors could not make it in private life. People who come to government for money don't know where it comes from.

I have always gone along with the teachers. I favor a fair and equitable raise. Our pay scale is not too bad.

Statement by Leader 4. I believe that teachers and ministers are two of the most important occupational groups we have. However, persons who go into teaching should not expect to make much money. They should be dedicated persons and go into teaching with the idea in mind that they will not make much money at it. There is a limit to what the taxpaying public can pay to teachers. The schools are quickly reaching the point where we taxpayers will be unable to meet their demands. Our taxes are getting to be too great. The school board did not do right on their budget after the reassessment. I told the county commission they had made a grievous error in establishing the assessment rolls before the school board had brought the budget in and they knew what it was. People will not forget very fast when election time comes. I think the members of the county commission are good men and I will support them. They are entitled to one mistake, but I have a feeling this will have an effect on the individuals who are involved in the next election.

Statement of Position Concerning Increasing State Sales Tax

A Leader in Beach County. I think a sales tax is as fair as you can have. I favor an across the board tax, maybe not on medicine. The present Governor of Tennessee passed the original sales tax in that state on an across the board basis. He served six years and was re-elected again. The people are for it because it is fair.

I don't want to say I'm in favor of the bond financing plan because I haven't studied it enough to say if it is necessary. In a fast growing state like ours, as in a business, there comes a time when it is wise to borrow money. It has to be safeguarded, though. I'm not opposed to borrowing to keep apace.

A Leader in River County. I'm very definitely for expanding sales taxes--even across-the-board. Even on gas and doctor's services. There are many loopholes now. If it was earmarked, I would be against it. I don't want it to go to the county, but I think it should be allocated by need. I talked to Andrews and Holms this week on the 4 per cent tax rather than the 3 per cent. They believe the 4 per cent tax, with closing all but a few loopholes, would be more palitable. We need it in the schools. If the legislature will do this for us, we will fulfill our responsibilities to them.

A Beach County Leader. I'm for the expansion of sales tax. I think it's a fair tax. I think it's all right. I think it ought to be across the board, yes sir.

The reason that I say that I think it's the fairest, isn't quite the term, but let's say I think it's the least painful to the man that's paying it. A man doesn't miss, for instance, going to the gasoline station and filling his car up with gasoline, and he doesn't think for a moment that he is paying 10¢ or 11¢ now, I think it is, a gallon of the price you pay is for the taxes to the federal government, state, and counties. You don't realize this is taxed when you get it there but you have to pay it. I know I don't pay any attention to it, and it's the same way with the state sales tax.

A River County Influential. In the 1961 session, I would have gone across the board and would have gone for maybe 4 per cent instead of 3 per cent. I'll still go 4 for the elimination of some of the exemptions. I will still go for a higher one, subject to certain other things. I want to see a total analysis of our tax structure in Florida fairly, clearly looked at. I hollered loud and long on the floor of the Senate but this didn't do any good. So I want to look at the whole structure this time and would like to see the situation which is ideal in my mind where all the people pay some of the taxes instead of some of the people paying all of the taxes. Since the reapportionment of the legislature, I think that the present reapportionment which we passed in this last special session is extremely poor, I am still not of the opinion that you can change the Constitution of the State of Florida by statute.

Sample Statements by Leaders in River County about Federal Aid to Education

A River County Leader. I just told you before. In fixed installations, federal aid I think would be helpful. I'm talking about fixed permanent type installations. I'm not talking about something that changes from year to year like a different type of IBM machine or a telescope or what have you. But a fixed type of installation, if the federal government could assist in it, would give a great deal of assistance. I'm talking about grounds. I'm talking about buildings.

That's like anything else that the federal government gets into. The legislators usually have very good reasons for passing certain types of laws. As a rule, it's the interpretation of the law that is done by somebody else that puts undesirable strings on it. Now, that's my personal opinion. And it applies to social security; it applies to many other things from my personal experience. The Congress will pass a law which could be interpreted very constructively. Frequently, somebody in a subordinate position gets this to draw up the regluations from this law to make it applicable. And that's where the trouble goes. Too many strings put on the application of the law that are unnecessary and make it so that, very often, it gives more control than was anticipated by the Congress.

A River County Leader. Well, obviously, I would like to as far as possible to see our education handled on the local level. I would like to see us take our responsibilities to heart on the county level as far as bond issues are concerned. I would like to see us provide our own taxes on the state level in order that we might continue to have as much control over our education process as we can. Yet, I would have to state at the same time, I'm also a citizen of the United States and I am not adverse to use federal funds in many areas just as long as we do not end up with the situation whereby the national administration, whoever it might be at that time, will set up the total criteria and will set up the total program and will demand that state, counties, cities, etc., will have to live within that framework if they are going to get any dollars. I would have to be shown where we can't handle our own problems on our state level. Here again, you are talking about a tremendous increase in the amount of money. This would have to be spent on the federal level and this would be on top of that which we are spending on the state level. When you run into the situation whereby how much taxes can business and how much taxes can the individual pay, you've got your President who is proposing a tax decrease which would cause us to have the greatest deficit spending that we've ever had in the United States history. And, I certainly would have to be assured that these billions of dollars that we're going to spend on the national level for education are going to be replaced by revenue in the federal treasuries somewhere because I think this affects our overall economy.

A River County Leader. I'm opposed to Federal Aid to anything. I've always been. We send the money to Washington, we lose about a third of it before it gets back to us. We send it to Tallahassee, we lose some of it before it gets back to us, but it's a pattern of growth which we are into and I don't know how you're going to combat it and all the bureaucracies that we've got. A great percentage of it, I believe and I've been told, could be eliminated. It's my opinion, and I don't have a damned thing in the world to base it on and it's probably assinine to make any such statement, that the thinkin' in Washington is to give everybody a job on the least pretext of what it's for or what they're to do. It gives somebody something to do and it's a form of socialism. They collect the money from us and pay it to them whether they earn it or don't earn it.

I am a small man but yet I pay many thousands of dollars of taxes every year and I don't see a damned thing of that except the other day I got on social security. I get $188.50 now a month social security. I waited several months and finally I said, "Well, what the hell, if it busts the government, the hell with it, let it bust the government." The quicker we bust the damned government, the quicker we start over again on something.

A Beach County Leader. I'm "agin" it, and I think that's enough said on that question.

Statements Made about the New River County Planning and Zoning Ordinance

Leader 1. My position, at that time, was just as it is now. I don't believe that you can develop a county and ask people to come to your county and invest their money without your offering them some means of protection for that investment and I will say this--that almost weekly, prior to the enactment of this zoning law, we would have people come up there to see us and their neighbor was perpetuating some nuisance to them or some degrading of their property values. Now, I'll agree that there were objections, there are still some objections, and there will always be objections when you have a county that people have done exactly as they wanted to do since 1865 or 1863 when this county was incorporated and then you suddenly come and tell a man what he can do with his property. This is odious to him--he doesn't like it, but it has to be done. I'm behind it (zoning) and think it's necessary and I think any county that doesn't do it is not keeping faith with the people.

Leader 2. It has to be done. Whether it is perfect or not. I don't think that it is. But it had to be done. And, it will never be perfect under county government. It was five or ten years late but at least we were getting started before we were really stormed in. We will always have problems of zoning in River County as long as the urban areas are under county government because you have to wait too long to change it. And, things in Florida, when you have been adding 6,000 or 7,000 people per year increase of population, and can't wait every two years to change yourselves because of the complexion and the use of land will change overnight. Well, once you get laws passed, bills passed, you have got to live with it until you get it amended or can get it amended and you end up with more amendments than the bill. But, it had to be done and there were some sections and pieces of it that I was violently opposed to, that instead of going and raising sand at the county commission office, I was a member of a committee to discuss this with the Planning and Zoning Boards, which we did and they made a lot of changes that we suggested which we thought were good. History will only tell us. I am not saying that I completely agree with the entire zoning ordinance, I don't. I don't think anyone does. I don't think Victor Kiker thinks it is just right. But nevertheless, it was the necessary evil and had to be done. I've got an investment in River County and I know enough within my business that land use and land values must be protected and should be utilized to the best advantage to all concerned.

Leader 3. Well, I felt that the county zoning and planning ordinance that the county commission passed was just too big and long and technical a document . . . I've always felt that the more words you used to confound people and confound the people who are having to interpret the ordinance itself, the more difficulties you're going to run into, and I think that's been the main reason for all our zoning troubles in River County. Secondly, we have had a bad--in my personal opinion--approach as far as the people who have been actually forcing the zoning laws. It seems that they have been trying to adhere to the strict letter of the law so strongly on matters of zoning that they have tended to constrict the growth of the area. It has given us a bad public image. I think a person coming here may want to develop a piece of property for industrial or commercial use. I know personally of several instances where outside investors have been scared off--frightened away from River County.

APPENDIX F

DEVELOPMENT AND FACTOR ANALYSIS OF A SCALE OF LIBERALISM-CONSERVATISM*

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I. Introduction

Hypotheses to be tested in a study of the influence of power structure and decision making in two county school systems as these affect support of public education include (1) that the level of support is related to the position of the top leaders in the power structure on a liberal-conservative continuum and (2) that the leaders in each case will not differ significantly from the modal position of those below them in the power structure. Although not explicitly stated, it is the expectation of the investigators that subjects from the school system giving the higher level of support to public education will score higher on liberalism than subjects from the county giving the lower level of support.

A search of the literature during 1960-61 failed to reveal any scale which was deemed satisfactory by the investigators. The most nearly satisfactory scale found was that of McClosky[1] (1958). This scale was developed from a pool of 43 items, all intended to characterize the conservative's beliefs and values. The final scale contained 12 items, later reduced to 9. These items were deliberately selected to avoid "attitudes or opinions that seemed to us situationally determined and which, for that reason, appear to be secondary and unstable correlates of liberal or conservative tendencies . . . i.e., attitudes toward free enterprise, toward the New Deal and its welfare measures, toward tariffs, farm supports, . . ."[2]

McClosky and his associates were interested in finding out whether or not knowing certain beliefs an individual possessed would enable one to predict better than chance what the individual's position would be on other beliefs and values. Relating a person's belief and value system to educational level, intelligence, and personality variables might add a new dimension to the study of politics. Hence their interest in finding ways of identifying the conservative and relating his degree of conservatism to these other variables.

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*Dr. Ralph Kimbrough is principal investigator of the U. S. Office of Education research grant under which the scale has been developed and is co-author of the scale. Dr. Lawrence Smith, visiting professor at the University of Florida during 1961-62, was a collaborator during the development of the first two versions of the scale. Dr. Wilson Guertin and Dr. Douglas Scates have been frequent sources of help. Colleagues and students, both present and former, have helped by taking or giving various versions of the scale, by suggesting items, and by criticizing items.

Initially, and also when he made his 1958 report, McClosky was not clear as to whether liberalism and conservatism were opposite ends of a single dimention so that a high score on one necessarily meant a low score on the other. Also he reports no measure of reliability, only a correlation of .83 between scores on the 12-item scale and the original 43 items.

Despite the successful use of McClosky's scale by him and by Campbell[3] and associates, it seemed desirable to attempt the development of a scale which would contain both liberal and conservative items and which would be sufficiently long to promise a higher reliability than seemed possible with a 12-item scale. The present investigators were also interested in using items somewhat more situationally determined than those of McClosky. An earlier study by Kimbrough[4] of the top members in a community power structure indicated that the leaders tended to have a set of fairly consistent "operational beliefs" by which they decided the position they would take and act upon when important community issues were at stake. Hence the desire to develop items which were between the invariant elements of the various outlooks and those which were immediately situational.

The present investigators were interested in finding out the consistency with which liberalism-conservatism permeated beliefs and attitudes in such major areas as foreign affairs, economics, public finance, the functions of government, and the nature of man and society. They were also not clear as to whether liberalism and conservatism did represent different dimensions and whether or not there might be a third possible dimension involved, that of the "new liberalism." Were new liberalism, classical liberalism, and conservatism three names for two positions?

Finally, with the recent acquisition of an IBM 709 computer it would be possible to make a factor analysis of the instrument to cast additional light on the possible dimensions involved.

II. Outlooks of Conservatism, Classical Liberalism, and New Liberalism

In a study of conservatism, going back to Plato's Republic, Auerbach[5] hypothesizes that conservatism, liberalism, radicalism, and authoritarianism are all the possible formulations from which to examine human society. Despite his brief for this position, it seems that a case can be made for conservatism, classical liberalism, and new liberalism as being somewhat independent positions for viewing society.

Conservatism is not synonymous with the radical right. Auerbach has traced historical conservatism from Plato through the stoics, St. Augustine, and John of Salisbury to Edmund Burke. There has been a renaissance of conservative thought in the United States during the last few decades, and particularly since the end of World War II. Russell Kirk, Clinton Rossiter, Peter Viereck, John Hallowell, and Peter Drucker have, among others, tried to restate conservatism for today's society. Newman[6] has written a blistering critique of conservatism in The Futilitarian Society, one example of many recent critical examinations of the position. McClosky and others have made syntheses of the writings of modern conservatives to try to identify the fundamental characteristics of the position. His summary of the position is similar to others but seemed to the writer to be the best brief account found.

According to McClosky the fundamentals of the conservative position include the following:

> (1) Man is a creature of appetite and will, "governed more by emotion than by reason" (Kirk), in whom "wickedness, unreason, and the urge to violence lurk always behind the curtain of civilized behavior (Rossiter). He is a fallen creature, doomed to imperfection, and inclined to license and anarchy.
>
> (2) Society is ruled by "divine intent" (Kirk) and made legitimate by Providence and prescription. Religion "is the foundation of civil society" (Huntington) and is man's ultimate defense against his own evil impulses.
>
> (3) Society is organic, plural, inordinately complex, the project of a long and painful evolution, embodying the accumulated wisdom of previous historical ages. There is a presumption in favor of whatever has survived the ordeal of history, and of any institution that has been tried and found to work.
>
> (4) Man's traditional inheritance is rich, grand, endlessly proliferated and mysterious, deserving of veneration, and not to be cast away lightly in favor of the narrow uniformity preached by "sophisters and calculators" (Burke). Theory is to be distrusted since reason, which gives rise to theory, is a deceptive, shallow, and limited instrument.
>
> (5) Change must therefore be resisted and the injunction heeded that "Unless it is necessary to change it is necessary not to change" (Hearnshaw). Innovation "is a devouring conflagration more often than it is a torch of progress" (Kirk).
>
> (6) Men are naturally unequal, and society requires "orders and classes" for the good of all. All efforts at leveling are futile and lead to despair (Kirk and Rossiter), for they violate the natural hierarchy and frustrate man's "longing for leadership." The superior classes must be allowed to differentiate themselves and to have a hand in the direction of the state, balancing the numerical superiority of the inferior classes.
>
> (7) Order, authority, and community are the primary defense against the impulse to violence and anarchy. The superiority of duties over rights and the need to strengthen the stabilizing

institutions of society, especially the church, the family, and above all, private property.[7]

The fundamental ideas of conservatism, according to Kirk[8] are:

(1) society is ruled by divine intent;
(2) affection for the variety and mystery of traditional life as distinguished from uniformity and equalitarianism;
(3) civilized society requires orders and classes;
(4) property and freedom are inseparable;
(5) faith in prescription, distrust of calculators, and a belief that man is governed more by emotion than by reason and hence must be controlled;
(6) a conviction that change and reform are not the same, a "recognition . . . that innovation is a devouring conflagration more often than it is a torch of progress . . . Providence is the proper instrument for change."

While most of today's thoughtful conservatives would date creation somewhat earlier than Bishop Ussher's 4004 B.C., their world view is probably closer to the thirteenth century than to Ussher's seventeenth century. Man was created unequal by his Creator and endowed with more duties than rights. The Creator also established orders and classes in society and the individual should accept the status assigned him. Because of man's sinful nature and because he is a creature of impulse and emotion, he must be directed and controlled. Of three categories in which definitions of freedom can usually be placed--absence of restraint, power of effective choice, and complete submission--the conservative would be most comfortable with the third--complete submission. Newman asserts that "conservatism in America today is fundamentally and essentially an ideology dedicated to stripping man of freedom."[8] The conservative is opposed to equality. Revelation and tradition are the most dependable sources of knowledge. Reason is to be mistrusted, not only as it is applied to building theory, or empirically in science, but to some extent as it is used in deriving conclusions from the first principles of revelation and tradition. Particularly man should avoid using reason as an instrument of change, either directly when he tries to change institutional arrangements, or indirectly as he tries to apply the methods of science to the solution of his problems. In neither case, because of the complexity of society, can he possibly forsee all the consequences, and more often than not more ill than good comes from his efforts. Most men are not capable of ruling themselves wisely and it is foolish to assert that thev should do this or have it as a right. Likewise, the conservative does not believe in the perfectability of man.

The positions of classical liberalism and new liberalism can be stated more briefly since they are to be found much more frequently in educational literature and are relatively familiar. Two of the better statements of these contrasting positions are to be found in Smith, Stanley, Benne, and Anderson[10] and in Stanley.[11] Classical liberalism is exemplified by the works of such men as Locke and Adam Smith.

According to classical liberalism, man was created prior to and independently of society and was endowed with certain inalienable rights--

usually life, liberty, and property. Society is a secondary and contractual mode of existence into which men enter in order better to secure their rights than they might in a state of nature. The functions of government should be limited to the protection of these rights and to the enforcement of contracts voluntarily made. Social, political, and economic relations are governed by inexorable natural law and governments should not engage in activities which will interfere with the operation of these laws. Man is an intelligent creature and by using his senses and his power of reason, he can determine or deduce these natural laws. Once he understands the operation of these laws, he will live most successfully by trying to live in harmony with them. He learns what the laws are, not from tradition, revelation, or authority, but by looking at the book of nature.

Under classical liberalism, liberty is viewed as the absence of restraint, particularly of restraint by government which goes beyond the social contract. Equality is defined in a negative sense, as the absence of social or legal barriers toward pursuing one's self interest. Classical liberalism is similar to conservatism in the importance it attaches to the relationship between freedom and the right to be secure in holding property, although the classical liberal would not restrict freedom, as he defines it, to as small an elite as might the conservative. Economics is viewed as a deductive science in which a multitude of producers and buyers come together in the free market to bring prices to their proper level and to provide the maximum possible production. Property is individually and privately owned. Ownership and control are vested in the same persons.

The new liberalism has a somewhat different world view. According to this view, to assert that the individual preceded society is nonsense. Human beings become fully human only as they participate widely and actively in an ongoing society. Without the nurture of the culture, they would remain on a subhuman level with no sense of rights, duties, language, selfhood, or anything else which differentiates the human being from other animals. Except as he is a member of a society which supports him and provides automatically for most of his fundamental and derived needs, equality and freedom would have no meaning. According to this view, freedom means the power of effective choice and equality means that the society acts positively to put a floor under opportunity for all its members. In some respects, such as suffrage and human dignity, equality becomes identity, for each person counts as one in decisions which affect him and each individual human being is of surpassing worth. The new liberal believes that all men should rule themselves and that they can become able to do this more wisely than the most benevolent despot can do it for them. He believes that the human mind can be trusted and should be set free. He sees regularities in nature, but the explanations of these are inventions of the human mind interacting with its environment. Just as inventions in the physical world have made man's lot easier, so the application of intelligence to political, social, and economic problems is a more certain way of overcoming these than trusting to the operation of natural law, or of resigning one's self to the situation.

III. Constructing the Scale

A number of sources were used to obtain items for the scale. Editorial pages were thought to be a possible source and the files of several newspapers considered to be conservative or liberal were examined and statements abstracted which seemed to represent the positions just outlined. Books by the writers cited were used as sources of statements. Some Statements were taken from the fundamental postulates or ideas of the three positions. These statements were reviewed and combined by the authors and then circulated to a small number of colleagues with requests to classify the statements as liberal or conservative, to criticize them, and to suggest additional items. It was desired to get about equal numbers of items which would be considered conservative and liberal. An attempt was also made to get representative items about the nature of man and society, the function of government, economics, public finance, and foreign affairs. In each version of the scale, however, conservative items occurred sixty to seventy per cent of the time. (Liberal here means "new liberal"; conservative includes conservative and classical liberal.)

The returns from the first group of colleagues were edited and the new version was circulated to fifteen professors of education, psychology, economics, political science, and sociology at the Universities of Florida and Tennessee. They were asked to criticize items, add additional ones, and mark existing ones as liberal or conservative. In no case was a definition supplied of the meaning of the terms.

With these returns and further editing items were categorized if twelve or more of the respondents agreed. One hundred twenty-one items were duplicated and given to 370 subjects to complete anonymously except for certain data about religious preference, age, sex, and educational level. At the end of the scale, respondents were asked if they viewed themselves as conservative or liberal. Subjects were largely undergraduate and graduate college students at one liberal arts college, one junior college, and two state universities. About one-fifth of the respondents were not attending college. Practically all had been at least through high school.

Items in this version could be marked "agree," "disagree," or "undecided." Keys were prepared for both liberal and conservative responses. Agreement with a liberal item or disagreement with a conservative item each counted one point on a liberal score. A similar procedure was followed in determining a conservative score. Since the number of undecided items varied, there was a high but not perfect negative correlation between liberal scores and conservative scores.

Papers were ranked and item-test correlations done for the top and bottom 27 per cent of papers for both liberal and conservative scoring. Based upon this analysis, the scale was shortened to 80 items and the procedure repeated with 185 subjects. All item test correlations are reported in Table I for the 60 items in the final form. A few items were put back from the first version to give balance to the test and to replace items which fared poorly on the second administration. The third version of the scale contained 78 items and had been subjected to careful editing and rewriting of many items to eliminate vagueness and ambiguity in some instances and in many, to simplify the vocabulary burden. Analysis of early results indicated that many items were either omitted or marked undecided, particularly by persons who had not completed more than 12 or 13 grades of school.

The 78-item version was given to two classes of graduate students and again item-test correlations were done, though only on liberal scores (See Table 1). Odd-even scores were determined and a split-half reliability calculated. The whole-test reliability was estimated at .934.

The test was then given to three groups, totaling 100 subjects, prior to factor analysis. These groups were composed of about equal numbers of leaders in both the formal and informal power structure of one Florida county not a part of the power-structure study, a group of University of Florida staff members from several colleges, and one person from each household in several selected blocks of middle-class neighborhoods. Respondents were told that the scales were being collected for research purposes, and would be factor-analyzed on the new high-speed computer at the University. The anonymity of respondents would be respected. With three or four exceptions, all members of the three groups cooperated fully with graduate students who delivered and collected the scales.

IV. Factor Analysis

A 78x100 score matrix was prepared for correlation and factor analysis. This principal axis analysis was done on an IBM 709. Fifteen factors were found. Total communalities for the first ten were:

1	24.9552
2	3.6262
3	2.2740
4	1.4565
5	2.4955
6	1.1763
7	0.8392
8	2.0935
9	1.6346
10	1.1188

With the exception of the first factor, only one of the 78 items had an individual factor loading above .50, only 7 exceeded .40 and only 39 were beyond .30 (in either positive or negative directions). Of the 60 items selected for the final version, in only 22 instances did loadings of ±.30, occur among the remaining 14 factors.

Upon rotation, the first factor tended to drop out and no additional heavier loadings were noted on other factors. Factors 1 and 3 had 7 and 10 items, respectively, with loadings of ±.50 or beyond; no other factor had more than 2, and only 34 loadings of ±.50 or beyond were found on all 15 factors.

A re-check using oblique factor rotation by Carroll's oblimin method with 32 selected items gave similar results. Intercorrelations between the oblique factors revealed a severe collapse in the dimensionality of the matrix. Hence it was concluded that the scale tended to measure essentially a single factor and the items which survived from the conservative, classical-liberal, and new-liberal pools apparently were loaded highly on a single dimension.

V. The Florida Scale of Civic Beliefs

Based upon first-factor loadings the scale was cut to its present 60-item form. Nine items are below ±.50, but none is below ±.46. Fifty-one items are at or beyond ±.50 (see Table I). A few items have been retained in order to keep a better balance between conservative and liberal items in the present form. Eighteen items can be considered liberal and 42 conservative. The conservative items are not as easy to separate into classical liberal and conservative. Three doctoral students in social foundations agreed on only five as purely conservative (see Table I). While several items might be put in two or more categories, the surviving 60 were somewhat arbitrarily classified as follows:

Foreign Affairs	4
Economics	15
Function of Government	16
Public Finance	10
Nature of Man and Society	15

A number of items which supposedly characterize the various positions failed to survive. These include the following:

Conservative:	"Society is ruled by Divine intent." "Any civilized society requires classes of people."
New Liberal:	"Liberty is best defined as the power of effective choice." "Men can and should rule themselves."
Classical Liberal:	"Men work hardest when they pursue their self-interest." "All individuals have an equal start in the race of life--how they succeed is up to them."

Mortality was high among statements from newspaper editorials and columns. The professional reviewers of the early items were very critical of most of these, often reporting that they failed to understand them out of context. Two which did survive and seem to discriminate reasonably well are the following rather long items:

6. Moderates, who preach appeasement by urging us to give up our fight against centralized government and liberal constitutional interpretation, do so mostly for their personal political gain.

46. Federal aid to schools, aid to the aged through social security, more stringent civil rights laws, and laws of like nature, are dangerously parallel to methods used in socialistic counties.

Some cliches sometimes identified with the radical right failed to survive such as "The United States is not a democracy, it is a republic," and "You can't change human nature." A few rather trite statements did survive and seem to discriminate well including, "The best governed is the least governed," and "Government spending is naturally wasteful."

Earlier versions of the scale tended to discriminate among those who styled themselves as "liberals" or "conservatives," though with some overlapping. Representatives of some of the major Christian denominations tended to score differently, with Catholics averaging higher on liberal scores than other groups involved. Scores vary with age and educational level. A small but significant increase in liberal scores, a decrease in undecided responses and a fairly constant conservative average was noted in three classes in socio-economic foundations of education when the test was given early and late in the course. A graduate class in socio-economic foundations of education shifted 21.1 points in the liberal direction on the final form over a fourteen-week interval.

It is believed that the scale can be useful in a number of ways in research. It should be helpful in charting similarities and differences in liberal-conservative climate among various levels of the power structure within cities, counties, and school districts where the latter are not coterminous with either of the former. It was so used in a doctoral study by Meredith, A Comparison of Measurements of Liberal and Conservative Sociometric Values of Influentials and Residents of Two Selected Florida Counties.* Significant differences were found between the members of the power structure in two counties with the individuals in the county with the lower support for education scoring more conservatively. Samples of the voting populations from the two counties were similar. It is possible that it will provide additional insight into how decisions are made on issues affecting schools, and perhaps other political matters. McClosky's[12] work has indicated that such a measure may be related to other personality variables. The present longer instrument should add another more reliable tool for probing these relationships. The reliability of the 60-item version, by the split-halves method, was .907.

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*Meredith, William V., Jr. A Comparison of Measurements of Liberal and Conservative Sociometric Values of Influentials and Residents of Two Selected Florida Counties. University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida: Doctoral dissertation, 1963.

The scale in its present form may have a number of weaknesses. Some of the items may differentiate more effectively in the South than they would in other regions of the country. The instrument would probably not be very effective with persons who have less than a high school education, and may be of limited usefulness among some of these.* It is not simple to score in its present form. Norms need to be developed for various groups. Its test-retest reliability over time needs to be established. In the graduate class in socio-economic foundations mentioned above, the before and after scores correlated .72. This was from a situation where changes were expected because of the nature of the course.

V. Summary

A 60-item liberal-conservative scale has been constructed from an original pool of 121 items. The surviving items have all had from 2 to 5 item-test correlations calculated and have each had a principal axis factor loading determined. The factor analysis indicated that one factor accounted for most of the variance in the test. Test reliability, estimated from a split-half correlation for 75 subjects, was .934. The same method on the 60-item version gave .907. The validity of the items was checked by 15 judges from education, economics, sociology, political science, and psychology in addition to the item-test correlations and factor analysis. It seems probable that liberalism, both classical and new, and conservatism can be measured on the same dimension. Additional work needs to be done on establishing norms and assessing the research possibilities of the scale.

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* Ibid

TABLE I

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, ITEM-TEST CORRELATIONS, AND PRINCIPAL-AXIS FACTOR LOADINGS FOR 60 ITEMS ON A LIBERAL-CONSERVATISM SCALE

$\bar{X}^a$	s^a		I*		II**		III***	Prin. Axis Factor Load
			L	C	L	C	L	I^b
3.18	1.31	1. Socialized medicine would ruin medical standards and fill our nation with people having imaginary ailments.	55	59	67	60	73	80
3.83	1.06	2. The idea of equality should not be restricted to political equality.	38	47	46	23	-18	-55
3.45	1.27	3. Centralization of government tends to destroy the rights of the Individual	47	58	52	66	85	67
3.18	1.07	4. History shows that economic and social planning by governments does not necessarily lead to dictatorship.	58	64	52	57	40	-65
3.22	1.26	5. Federal participation in local affairs can exist without undesirable federal control.	52	48	57	45	68	-65
2.77	1.07	6. Moderates, who preach appeasement by urging us to give up our fight against centralized government and liberal constitutional interpretation, do so mostly for their personal political gain.	53	58	60	35	55	58
3.05	1.52	7. What a state does with its schools should be its business, not the Supreme Court's.	54	70	56	64	65	77
2.96	1.45	8. The most serious political iesue of our day is the encroachment of the federal government upon states' rights.	46	60	70	53	64	78
3.48	1.18	9. Local government is grass-roots democracy at work and represents the voice of the people better than centralized government	66	74	68	59	56	69
2.55	1.19	10. The federal government taxes the states and then sends this money back, minus what is wasted in Washington.	65	67	74	58	50	63

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[a] Item means and standard deviations are based on 5 for strongly agree, 4 for agree, 3 for neither agree nor disagree, 2 for disagree, and 1 for strongly disagree. N is 100; 78 items on scale.

*N is 370; options: agree, undediced, disagree. Tests scored (a) for total liberal responses on all items, (b.) for total conservative responses on all items; item test correlations based on top and bottom 27 per cent of cases; 121 items on scale, decimals omitted. **Same as above but N is 185; 80 items on scale. ***Same as above but N is 75; 78 items on scale. Conservative responses not tested for item-test consistency.

[b] N is 100; 78 items on scale; items scored as in "a" above. All r's and factor loading are rounded to two significant figures with decimal points omitted. Positive factor loading corresponds to agreement with items being conservative; negative factor loading indicates agreement as liberal.

$\bar{X}^a$	s^a			I*		II**		III***	Prin. Axis Factor Load
				L	C	L	C	L	I^b
3.21	1.21	11.	The federal government is often more representative of the people than some state governments.	54	57	44	31	36	-60
3.45	1.34	12.	Free enterprise, with an absolute minimum of governmental control, is the best way to assure full productivity in our country.	56	63	51	41	56	75
3.13	1.21	13.	Private enterprise is the only really workable system in the modern world for satisfying our economic wants.	49	60	47	57	41	59
2.60	1.14	14.	When individual producers and consumers are left free to follow their own self-interest, natural economic laws operate to produce the greatest public good.	60	46	63	68	58	62
2.93	1.20	15.	The growth of our economy depends upon an increase in the activities of government to satisfy human wants as well as an increase in our private economy.	62	55	60	55	38	-60
2.83	1.23	16.	The principle of free competition is a natural law which should govern our business system without governmental interference.	67	67	53	61	59	70
3.67	.99	17.	The growth of large corporations makes government regulation of business unnecessary.	45	46	47	51	26	-49
2.87	1.15	18.	Government regulation of the market should occur only in cases of monopolies such as public utilities.	54	57	56	56	46	56
1.90	.79	19.	Money taken in by taxes is lost to the economy, since government is nonproductive.	59	53	68	58	37	49
3.49	.95	20.	We should get back to hard work to cure our country's ills.	41	62	37	45	40	58
2.58	1.18	21.	A growing national debt is nothing to worry about if the national income is growing at the same rate.	40	52	21	35	44	-57
2.99	1.17	22.	The price of aid to education, from a larger unit of government to a smaller one, is that the smaller one must do what it is told.	72	62	64	49	64	60
3.23	1.22	23.	Income taxes are more equitable than sales taxes.	33	37			21	-49
3.02	.97	24.	To keep taxes from rising is commendable but in reality taxes should be cut.	42	55	42	61	48	60
3.22	1.15	25.	The government is doing things which we simply cannot afford at public expense.	37	49	40	51	52	69
3.42	1.08	26.	Deficit spending is a bad public policy except possibly in time of war.	53	56	56	55	35	66
2.38	.99	27.	All government spending should be on a pay-as-you-go basis.	54	47	42	49	46	59

$\bar{X}^a$	s^a		I*		II**		III***	Prin. Axis Factor Load
			L	C	L	C	L	I^b
2.90	1.01	28. In ordinary times public buildings, roads, and other permanent construction are the only things for which the government should borrow money.	47	45	57	60	60	53
3.45	.93	29. The government should meet the needs of the people, if necessary, through borrowing money or increasing taxes.	53	43	42	30	45	-58
2.98	1.04	30. If the country and the state are to make progress we are going to need additional taxes.	43	47	33	37	43	-55
3.38	1.04	31. Good financial principles for private enterprise are equally good principles for government.	51	52	46	38	55	59
2.55	1.09	32. Government spending is naturally wasteful.	63	64	63	77	52	64
2.93	1.08	33. We are spending more than the people can really afford to spend for government services.	65	67	58	60	70	72
2.64	1.18	34. The collecting and spending of tax money is most wasteful at the federal level, not so wasteful at the state level, and least wasteful at the local level of government.	57	51	64	72	56	61
3.31	1.01	35. We could still increase spending for important government services without harming the nation's economy.	43	58	39	40	64	-54
3.63	.93	36. Congress should accept the sensible virtue other businesses and individuals have learned--that of living within one's means.	42	53	57	67	43	61
3.20	1.04	37. Our government can and should do more to promote the general welfare.	49	72	58	58	68	-66
3.50	1.00	38. Private enterprise could do better many of the things that government is now doing.	43	64	54	43	64	75
3.12	1.20	39. The best governed is the least governed	53	49	56	69	55	60
2.56	1.05	40. It is more important to teach Americanism than to teach democracy in our public schools.	42	41	38	42	31	49
2.35	1.02	41. Charitable services for those in need should be left to voluntary groups.	39	45	63	45	41	63
3.80	.76	42. Government in the United States is not the enemy of business.	55	59	66	61	77	-30
2.86	1.17	43. Increased government services in the social welfare programs may increase an individual's freedom.	63	66	54	47	76	-69
2.39	1.02	44. Legislative reapportionment is undesirable because city residents do not understand rural and small town problems.	47	39	53	49	59	47
3.22	1.33	45. The Supreme Court has assumed powers not given to it by law or by custom.	59	57	61	45	82	75

$\bar{X}^a$	s^a		I* L	I* C	II** L	II** C	III*** L	Prin. Axis Factor Load I^b
2.95	1.13	46. Federal aid to schools, aid to the aged through social security, more stringent civil rights laws, and laws of like nature, are dangerously parallel to methods used in socialistic countries.	78	70	68	75	89	73
2.80	1.22	47. The government should increase its activity in matters of health, retirement, wages, and old-age benefits.	55	68	55	52	81	-68
2.50	1.23	48. Some races are by nature inferior mentally, emotionally, and physically.	54	54	39	36	55	61
3.27	1.20	49. If one has enough ambition and is willing to work hard, nothing but extremely bad luck can stop him.	45	51	45	31	40	47
3.43	1.06	50. Unless we change social conditions, many children of minority groups will be unable to realize their full potentialities.	45	54	33	43	68	-62
3.42	1.14	51. The Monroe Doctrine should be revitalized and maintained by the Armed Forces of the United States.	44	55	31	40	44	47
2.89	1.17	52. The United Nations has become an international debating society paid for by the United States.	57	55	50	37	81	63
3.30	1.14	53. Our foreign policy has been motivated too long by a spirit of do-goodism.	56	56	64	60	51	63
2.62	1.07	54. People of most underdeveloped counties are by nature incapable of self-government.	36	47	54	39	24	54
2.85	1.19	55. We could recognize nations such as Red China without implying that we approve of their forms of government.	39	33			59	-63
3.81	.88	56. Production is greatest in an economic system based upon competition and some pressure.	42	61	46	47	66	56
2.23	.99	57. If everyone would "take care of number one" there would be little need for such things as social security, health services, and other social welfare measures.	53	52	60	49	64	51
4.19	.70	58. Government has a responsibility for protecting not only property rights but human rights as well.	43	35			15	-51
2.56	.90	59. Providence is the proper source for social change.	41	46	45	19	36	49
3.51	.99	60. This country was made great by persons who were willing to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps.	48	52	38	38	58	48

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APPENDIX G

THE FLORIDA SCALE OF CIVIC BELIEFS

by Ralph B. Kimbrough and Vynce A. Hines, University of Florida

Following are some statements with which you may agree or disagree. Circle the symbol which best represents your position on each statement as follows:

SA -- Strongly Agree
A -- Agree
N -- Neither agree nor disagree
D -- Disagree
SD -- Strongly Disagree

SA A N D SD 1. Socialized medicine would ruin medical standards and fill our nation with people having imaginary ailments.

SA A N D SD 2. The idea of equality should not be restricted to political equality.

SA A N D SD 3. Centralization of government tends to destroy the rights of the individual.

SA A N D SD 4. History shows that economic and social planning by governments does not necessarily lead to dictatorship.

SA A N D SD 5. Federal participation in local affairs can exist without undesirable federal control.

SA A N D SD 6. Moderates, who preach appeasement by urging us to give up our fight against centralized government and liberal constitutional interpretation, do so mostly for their personal political gain.

SA A N D SD 7. What a state does with its schools should be its business, not the Supreme Court's.

SA A N D SD 8. The most serious political issue of our day is the encroachment of the federal government upon states' rights.

SA A N D SD 9. Local government is grass-roots democracy at work and represents the voice of the people better than centralized government.

SA A N D SD 10. The federal government taxes the states and then sends this money back, minus what is wasted in Washington.

SA A N D SD 11. The federal government is often more representative of the people than some state governments.

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SA A N D SD 12. Free enterprise, with an absolute minimum of governmental control, is the best way to assure full productivity in our country.

SA A N D SD 13. Private enterprise is the only really workable system in the modern world for satisfying our economic wants.

SA A N D SD 14. When individual producers and consumers are left free to follow their own self-interest, natural economic laws operate to produce the greatest public good.

SA A N D SD 15. The growth of our economy depends upon an increase in the activities of government to satisfy human wants as well as an increase in our private economy.

SA A N D SD 16. The principle of free competition is a natural law which should govern our business system without governmental interference.

SA A N D SD 17. The growth of large corporations makes government regulation of business necessary.

SA A N D SD 18. Government regulation of the market should occur only in cases of monopolies such as public utilities.

SA A N D SD 19. Money taken in by taxes is lost to the economy, since government is nonproductive.

SA A N D SD 20. We should get back to hard work to cure our country's ills.

SA A N D SD 21. A growing national debt is nothing to worry about if the national income is growing at the same rate.

SA A N D SD 22. The price of aid to education, from a larger unit of government to a smaller one, is that the smaller one must do what it is told.

SA A N D SD 23. Income taxes are more equitable than sales taxes.

SA A N D SD 24. To keep taxes from rising is commendable but in reality taxes should be cut.

SA A N D SD 25. The government is doing things which we simply cannot afford at public expense.

SA A N D SD 26. Deficit spending is a bad public policy except possibly in time of war.

SA A N D SD 27. All government spending should be on a pay-as-you-go basis.

SA A N D SD 28. In ordinary times public buildings, roads, and other permanent construction are the only things for which the government should borrow money.

SA A N D SD 29. The government should meet the needs of the people, if necessary, through borrowing money or increasing taxes.

SA A N D SD 30. If the country and the state are to make progress we are going to need additional taxes.

SA A N D SD 31. Good financial principles for private enterprise are equally good principles for government.

SA A N D SD 32. Government spending is naturally wasteful.

SA A N D SD 33. We are spending more than the people can really afford to spend for government services.

SA A N D SD 34. The collecting and spending of tax money is most wasteful at the federal level, not so wasteful at the state level, and least wasteful at the local level of government.

SA A N D SD 35. We could still increase spending for important government services without harming the nation's economy.

SA A N D SD 36. Congress should accept the sensible virtue other businesses and individuals have learned--that of living within one's means.

SA A N D SD 37. Our government can and should do more to promote the general welfare.

SA A N D SD 38. Private enterprise could do better many of the things that government is now doing.

SA A N D SD 39. The best governed is the least governed.

SA A N D SD 40. It is more important to teach Americanism than to teach democracy in our public schools.

SA A N D SD 41. Charitable services for those in need should be left to voluntary groups.

SA A N D SD 42. Government in the United States is not the enemy of business.

SA A N D SD 43. Increased government services in the social welfare programs may increase an individual's freedom.

SA A N D SD 44. Legislative reapportionment is undesirable because city residents do not understand rural and small town problems.

SA A N D SD 45. The Supreme Court has assumed powers not given to it by law or by custom.

SA A N D SD 46. Federal aid to schools, aid to the aged through social security, more stringent civil rights laws, and laws of like nature, are dangerously parallel to methods used in socialistic countries.

SA A N D SD 47. The government should increase its activity in matters of health, retirement, wages, and old-age benefits.

SA A N D SD 48. Some races are by nature inferior mentally, emotionally, and physically.

SA A N D SD 49. If one has enough ambition and is willing to work hard, nothing but extremely bad luck can stop him.

SA A N D SD 50. Unless we change social conditions, many children of minority groups will be unable to realize their full potentialities.

SA A N D SD 51. The Monroe Doctrine should be revitalized and maintained by the Armed Forces of the United States.

SA A N D SD 52. The United Nations has become an international debating society paid for by the United States.

SA A N D SD 53. Our foreign policy has been motivated too long by a spirit of do-goodism.

SA A N D SD 54. People of most underdeveloped countries are by nature incapable of self-government.

SA A N D SD 55. We could recognize nations such as Red China without implying that we approve of their forms of government.

SA A N D SD 56. Production is greatest in an economic system based upon competition and some pressure.

SA A N D SD 57. If everyone would "take care of number one" there would be little need for such things as social security, health services, and other social welfare measures.

SA A N D SD 58. Government has a responsibility for protecting not only property rights but human rights as well.

SA A N D SD 59. Providence is the proper source for social change.

SA A N D SD 60. This country was made great by persons who were willing to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps.

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